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THE JAVA WAR 1825-30 :

SOME JAVANESE ASPECTS

including an excerpt from
the Babad Dipanegara of
the bupati of Purwaredja

by

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This thesis represents the product of my own research, except where otherwise indicated by acknowledgements.

G. Forrester

To my wife, Rosemary

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The story of the Java War (1825-30) and of prince Dipanegara, who led the Javanese forces against the Dutch, has been recounted many times. Very full accounts are to be found in Bahasa Indonesia and Dutch, while brief but adequate summaries are to be found in English language works. The field would seem to be so thoroughly covered that further study could scarcely reveal anything else of interest. Yet one aspect of the Java War - the Javanese view - has been neglected. Few attempts have been made to understand Javanese attitudes to prince Dipanegara, the causes of the war, and the Dutch. Yet the means for exploring Javanese attitudes have been readily available in the form of several babads (Javanese historical books) of the Java War.

In this work the author has attempted to discover how the period prior to the outbreak of the war, and the principal protagonist, Pangéran Dipanegara, were seen by contemporary Javanese. To do this, the Babad Dipanegara of the bupati of Purwaredja was used. The first nine cantos of this babad have provided an interesting and uniquely Javanese account of the events that led to the beginning of the war, as well as other important aspects of the war and Dipanegara's part in it.

From the value of the small excerpt of the babad used in this work, one can gauge the importance of the large

number of babads that remain neglected. This work thus merely points the way to further studies of the babads of the Java War.

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For their constant help in the preparation of this thesis I owe many thanks to the members of the Indonesian and Asian Studies Departments of the Australian National University. In particular, I will always be grateful to Professor A.H. Johns, Dr Sutjipto Wirjosuparto, Mr Supomo and Dr Soewito Santoso, all of whom have, over the past years, directed me through my studies of Indonesian history and Indonesian languages. Their scholarship and dedication have been a continuing inspiration to me.

There are many other people to whom I owe a debt of gratitude, and I feel that no list could ever be adequate. Yet I wish to express my sincere thanks to Mrs Dorothy Smith for her invaluable help in the final preparation of this work.

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CHAPTER I

JAVANESE SOURCES FOR THE JAVA WAR

A Existing versions and MSS. of the Babad Dipanegara

Though Dutch scholars have often pointed to the usefulness of Javanese sources for a better understanding of the Java war, they have shown little enthusiasm for the preliminary task of translating and editing the many sources available. Still today there is no authoritative edition or translation of any of the many babads about Dipanegara. The two translations of babads that exist are incomplete and largely inaccessible. There are no translations into English.

The earliest interest in the babads about the Java War was shown by Taco Roorda who undertook the translation of the early parts of the babad that had been written by Tjakranegara, at that time bupati of Purwaredja. This babad was completed in 1843 and a copy was later presented to Governor-General Rochussen by Tjakranegara himself. This babad was important to the Dutch because the author had fought on their side during the Java War and had been rewarded for his bravery with the position of bupati:

Kang mangké radèn dipati
pan sampun djinundjung deradjat
kumpeni kang nglahiraké
tuwan besar ing Néderlan
wit sawabing luhur baga
saking rama miwah ibu
kasertan takdiring Allah.[1]

The scholar Winter had made earlier attempts to translate the babad, but its poor style and grammar deterred him. In 1860 Roorda continued his work and translated, together with notes, a portion of the babad.[2] No romanized or Kawi text was included. This early work covers only the events leading up to the war, and its causes.

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1 Translation:
He (Tjakranegara) is now a prince,
he was promoted in position
by the Dutch (lit. the 'Company')
i.e. by the great lord in the Netherlands
as a result of the great favours
bestowed by his father and mother
and as a result of the will of God.
from Babad Dipanegara, I.6.

2 The result of Roorda's translation is to be found in his article 'Verhaal van het oorsprong en het begin van den opstand van Dipanegara', BKI (1860) nieuwe volgreeks no.IV, p.140, sq. The translation only goes as far as Dipanegara's proclamation as Sultan while at Silarong, which took place soon after the outbreak of war. Only three copies of this early volume of the BKI are to be found in Australian libraries: at the Queensland, Melbourne and Monash University Libraries.

At about the same time the Batavia Society[1] began to show an interest in another <u>Babad Dipanegara</u> which was reputed to be the work of Dipanegara himself, written in exile in Manado. There was doubt as to whether he actually wrote it himself or whether he commissioned poets to compose it, but the fact remained that it could be of considerable interest as it would have expressed Dipanegara's own ideas of the war and its causes. Therefore van der Valck was commissioned by the Batavia Society[2] to translate the work but he completed only 91 pådås.[3] For him the work was too unhistorical and the labour expended in translating its many pages would not be justified by the amount of historical fact to be extracted from it. It was also compared unfavourably with Tjakranegara's Babad which was already partly available in translation.[4] The Batavia Society procrastinated for many years, refusing to make any further decision on Dipanegara's autobiography. However in

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1 The 'Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen', founded to promote the study of the indigenous Indonesian cultures.

2 The record of the Society's vacillating interest in Dipanegara's autobiography is to be found in the '<u>Notulen Bataviaansch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen</u>', vol.II, p.252, vol.VI, pp.28 and 29 and vol.XV, p.94. The '<u>Notulen</u>' are not available in Australia but the most relevant passages are reproduced in Van Praag, '<u>Onrust op Java</u>', pp.18-23.

3 Javanese for 'verse', 'stanza'.

4 Roorda had published it in 1860, while the debate on the value of Dipanegara's autobiography went on from about 1864 to 1876 when it was finally decided that it was historically valueless.

1870 it made a positive step towards finishing the translation begun by van der Valck:

> So as to do something, the Government placed an advertisement in the 'Javasche Courant' stating 'Translators Required'. There was no shortage of applicants, including inspectors of inland revenue and cultures, a commissioner of one of the departments of local government and a teacher.[1]

All these applicants were assigned sections of the babad to translate and the collation and correction of these separate translations was undertaken by the 'contrôleur' Palmer van den Broek. When he had finally prepared a translation of the work in the year 1876, the Society again rejected it as being of no historical value. Since that time Palmer van den Broek's translation has remained in manuscript form.[2]

However the autobiography of Dipanegara continued to attract attention. P.J.E. Louw, using Palmer van den Broek's translation in particular,[3] made a study of it when

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[1] Van Praag, op.cit. p.23. The 'cultures' mentioned are the cash crops forcibly cultivated by the Javanese peasants.

[2] e.g. MS. 589(a) '<u>Babad Dipanegaran</u>', belonging to the Koninklijk Instituut voor T-L- en V-kunde. See H.J. de Graaf '<u>Catalogus van de Handschriften in Westerse Talen</u>', 's Gravenhage, Martinus Nyhoff, 1963, p.109. A microfiche copy of this translation is available in the Australian National University Library (Cat.No.MZ-OS-I). Negatives are available from the Leiden University Library. There may also be copies of Palmer van den Broek's translation in the Museum Pusat in Djakarta: Pigeaud mentions without comment three Babad Dipanegara in Dutch from the collection of the former Batavia Society (BG 246, B15 and 317). See Pigeaud, '<u>Literature of Java</u>', vol.II, pp.876 and 877. It was the Batavia Society which commissioned the translation and it is very likely that these are copies of the translation finally prepared by Palmer van den Broek.

[3] See Louw, 'De Java Oorlog', vol.I. Louw mentions his use of Broek's translation in a note to p.84.

preparing volume one of his six volume De Java-Oorlog, 1825-1830. He wrote of this babad at the time:

> Unhesitatingly we would attribute such a high historical value to the Babad Dipanegara that any history of the Java War could undoubtedly be branded as highly incomplete if it had not utilized the Babad Dipanegara as a source.[1]

Later in Surakarta in 1908-9, part of the babad was published in Javanese script.[2] The work was without notes and much of the text, particularly those parts dealing with the early history of Java, was omitted.[3] As recently as 1965, H.J. de Graaf has called for the publishing of this babad (and all Javanese historical writings), but it has remained largely neglected.[4]

A third babad had attracted the interest of the scholar Hageman. This was a work in Malay by Aria Djajadiningrat, the regent of Karang Anjar.[5] He had taken part in the war on the side of Dipanegara and his work would have made an

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1 This English translation of Louw's words is from J.H. de Graaf 'Later Javanese Sources and Historiography' in 'An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography', ed. Soedjatmoko, Cornell, N.Y., 1965. See p.132. The original text is from Louw, vol.I, p.94.

2 See pangéran Diponegoro, 'Serat babad Dipanagaran karanganipoen swargi kangdjeng pangeran harja Dipanegoro pijambak....' (for full title, see Bibliography), 2 vols., Serat Kabar Djawi Kanda, Soerakarta, 1908-9. This edition was published by a scholar named Rusche: see Pigeaud Literature of Java, vol.II, p.392.

3 This edition consisted of vol.II only of MS.6547 (now in the Leiden Library), which in its entirety consists of four volumes in MS. form. Volume II of this MS. dealt with Dipanegara's own time, which accounts for its choice for publication. See Pigeaud, op,cit., p.392.

4 J.H. de Graaf, op.cit., p.133.

5 See J.P.F. Louw, 'De Java Oorlog', vol.I, p.85.

interesting comparison with Tjakranegara's babad. Perhaps with this in mind Hageman prepared a translation of the work but this translation was lost! Since that time the original Malay MS. has lain, presumably untouched, in the old Batavia Society Library in Djakarta (now the Museum Pusat).[1]

When Louw,[2] Kemp[3] and de Klerk[4] began their major works in the 1890's they had access therefore to three Javanese sources in translation: the translation of the early parts of the Babad of Tjakranegara; Palmer van den Broek's translation of Dipanegara's autobiography; and the Babad by Aria Djajadiningrat. Louw and Kemp both resorted to Roorda's and van den Broek's translations and do not seem to have referred a great deal to the original Javanese works. Louw did translate, or had translated, a few passages of minor importance from Aria Djajadiningrat's work which is in Malay,[5] but did not refer to this work very much at all. Thus while he (and Kemp) paid lip-service to the importance of the Javanese sources, they in fact had a very patchy knowledge of them and used only those parts available in Dutch translation.

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1 See further Pigeaud, op.cit. vol.II, p.290.

2 P.J.F. Louw, '<u>De Java Oorlog van 1825-30</u>', vols.I-III, Batavia and 's-Gravenhage, 1894-1904.

3 P.H. van der Kemp, 'Dipanegara, een Geschiedkundige Hamlettype', <u>BKI</u>, 1896, pp.278-433.

4 E.S. de Klerk, '<u>De Java-Oorlog van 1825-30</u>', vols.IV-VI, Batavia and 's-Gravenhage, 1905-9.

5 See Louw, vol.I op.cit., pp.85-9.

One might have expected the obviously inadequate knowledge of the Javanese sources for the Java War to have spurred some scholars to publish and translate the babads in the years between 1900 and today. This has not been the case at all. Interest in Dipanegara has remained strong and has grown, at least in Indonesia, but no effort has been made to improve on the position that has prevailed since the days of Louw and Kemp. Scholars in the twentieth century have merely referred to Louw and Roorda if they felt in need of a Javanese source to corroborate their argument about some aspect of the war. This is particularly obvious in the works by Hallema (1936)[1], van Praag (1947),[2] Sagimun (1957)[3] and van der Kroef (1958).[4] Because they have used the same sources these works often are worded in a disturbingly similar way. Above all, no attempt has been made by any writer in this century to look critically at these sources they have borrowed wholesale from Louw and Roorda.

There is today a need for a total review of the Javanese sources available and a renewed attempt to translate and publish them for as wide a reading public as

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1 A. Hallema, 'Iets over het karakter en de geestelijke gesteldheid van den Pangeran Dipanegara', De Indische Gids, 1936, pp.896-912.

2 S. van Praag, 'Onrust op Java', Amsterdam, 1947.

3 Sagimun, 'Pahlawan Dipanegara Berdjuang', Jogjakarta, 1957.

4 J.M. van der Kroef, 'Indonesian Social Evolution', Amsterdam, 1958.

possible. In particular the publication of Pigeaud's catalogue[1] of Javanese MSS. in the Library of the University of Leiden has revealed that there are now more than the three versions of the Babad Dipanegara that were known to Louw when he compiled his work. Moreover there are at least 20 MSS. of the Babad Dipanegara in Javanese, Malay and Dutch translation, in libraries in Holland and Djakarta.[2] Pigeaud's catalogue has revealed the inadequacy of our knowledge of the sources. It is time to stop looking to Louw and Roorda for Javanese material and to seek it at its true source, the Javanese MSS. themselves. In the following pages the existing MSS. of the various versions of the '<u>Babad Dipanegara</u>' will be described with notes on their possible usefulness for future studies.

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1 Th. G.Th. Pigeaud, '<u>Literature of Java: Catalogue Raisonné of Javanese, Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other Public Collections in the Netherlands</u>'. Vol.I, 'Synopsis of Javanese Literature 900-1900 A.D.', was published in 1967 and vol.II 'Descriptive Lists of Javanese Manuscripts' was published in 1968. This catalogue brings up to date the work done by Juynboll at the beginning of the century. The descriptions of MSS. are not as long as those in Vreede (1892) or Juynboll (1907 and 1911) but the setting out is admirably clear and it is in English.

2 See Pigeaud, '<u>Literature of Java</u>', vol.I, pp.167 and 168, '<u>Histories of the Dipanegara Troubles</u>' where he enumerates the MSS. of the Babad Dipanegara available in Holland. In vol.II of the same work, pp.872-912, Pigeaud has provided lists of Javanese MSS. in libraries in Java, which show that a further 15 MSS. are available in Indonesia. In total there are about 28 MSS. of the Babad Dipanegara extant.

1 General Histories of Javanese Kingdoms[1]

Many of the voluminous histories of Mataram, Surakarta and Jogjakarta contain brief references to the Java War and Dipanegara e.g. LOR 2251, LOR 6408 a-b-c.[2] The exact number that do refer to the war is not known. Such brief references are relatively unimportant and their utilization for the study of the Java War must await the extensive study of those works dealing exclusively with Dipanegara and the war, the so-called '<u>Babad Dipanegara</u>'.

2 Versions of the Babad Dipanegara

a) The version of Tjakranegara, also called the '<u>Buku Kĕdung Kĕbo (tanah Bagelen)</u>'[3]

This is the version partly translated by Roorda in 1860[4] and also the version used by the present author in his study. Five MSS. of this babad are to be found in the Leiden Library: LOR <u>1823</u>,[5] <u>2115</u>,[6] <u>2163</u>,[7] and Dev. Ath.

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1 See Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.I, pp.158-68.

2 The two MSS. quoted are only examples. It is impossible to know at the present time how many babads do mention the Java War. For LOR 2251 see Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.92; and for LOR 6408 a-b-c, see Pigeaud, op. cit., vol. II, p.370.

3 Kĕdung Kĕbo is the old name of Purwaredja where the author Tjakranegara served as regent. Purwaredja is in the district of Bagelen.

4 Roorda, op. cit., p.140 sq.

5 Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.35.

6 Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.69.

7 Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.78.

VI.[1] Roorda compared Codices 2115 and 2163 only for his translation. The present author used a slightly different but incomplete version which is in the possession of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-Land en Volkenkunde, and its codex number is KITLV OR 13.[2] KITLV OR 13, though incomplete, nevertheless contains all the material covered by Roorda in his translation. Also the differences between it and the other four complete MSS. are slight.

In the collections in the Museum Pusat in Djakarta there would seem to be at least three MSS. (Nos. BG 117,[3] C8/31,[4] Br 113[5]) of the Tjakranegara Babad. Thus there are eight MSS. of the Buku Kĕdung Kĕbo of which only three (LOR 2115, 2163 and now KITLV OR 13) have so far been studied at all. There is an obvious need for at least a romanized edition of the complete Babad, with hopefully an English translation. This would be a formidable task, for the Buku Kĕdung Kĕbo is at least 300 pages long in MS. form.

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1 Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.869. This is the copy of the work presented by Tjakranegara to Governor-General Rochussen and later bequeathed by G.G. Duymaer van Twist, his successor, to the latter's home town Deventer where it now resides in the Athenaeum Library.

2 Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.825. This MS. was recopied in Semarang by mas bèhi Suranegara in the year 1866 A.D. See Summary of Canto I.

3 Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.874.

4 Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.893.

5 Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.897.

But the justification for such an editing is convincing. Here is a work by a Javanese contemporary of Dipanegara who was at the same time his opponent during the war. His views of Dipanegara would provide a useful comparison both with the views expressed by Dipanegara about himself in his autobiography and with the views of Tjakranegara's own Dutch companions in battle.

b) 'Babad Dipanegara' - the autobiography of Dipanegara

There is one Javanese MS. of this babad in Dutch libraries: LOR 6547 (in four volumes)[1] in the Leiden Library. This is a copy made for Hazeu and the original is presumably still in Djakarta, where there are at the moment three MSS. of this work - BG 282 and 283,[2] and Br.149.[3]

A translation of this important babad was eventually prepared by Palmer van den Broek in 1876 but it was never published. MSS. of this translation are available in the Museum Pusat, Djakarta (BG 246,[4] 315,[5] 317[6]) and there is at least one copy of it in the Netherlands, in the Instituut voor Taal - Land en Volkenkunde. This is MS. 589(a) 'Babad Dipanegara' which is referred to in de Graaf's Catalogue.[7]

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1 Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.392.

2 Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.876.

3 Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.897.

4 Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.876.

5 Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.876.

6 Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.877.

7 As noted above - de Graaf, Catalogus, p.109.

For those unable to procure either the original Javanese texts or the translation, portions of the translation appear in Louw (and his imitators).

Again there is an obvious need for a romanized edition of the work and the publishing of Palmer van den Broek's translation or an English revision of it. Again the size of the original makes this a difficult task but there is strong justification for such a move.

Originally the Batavia Society rejected the work for publication because it was too fantastic and unhistorical. In fact a third of the work is a partly non-factual history of the early kingdoms of Java, for Dipanegara had a keen appreciation of traditional history and the part he felt he had to play in it. Likewise his description of his own life and the events of the war must inevitably be coloured by personal bias and also by traditional concepts of mythology and religion. But this does not deny completely the historical value of the work. Dipanegara's autobiography is vital for an understanding of the War and why it eventuated, and its publication and translation will surely initiate more reasonable assessments of this period.

c) <u>The Babad Dipanegara by the bupati of Karanganjar, Aria Djajadiningrat</u>

There is only one copy of this MS. in the Museum Pusat, Djakarta, and this would seem to be BG 314[1] the only

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1 Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.876.

Malay version of the Babad Dipanegara mentioned by Pigeaud in his Catalogue. Hageman's translation has been irretrievably lost.[1]

This babad has been even more assiduously avoided than the former two babads, though Hageman seems to have attempted a translation. One difficulty may be the language, for though it is written in Malay many Javanese words and expressions are used which make both the Javanese and Malay sometimes incomprehensible. However, once again lack of interest seems to be the major cause for its neglect.

Aria Djajadiningrat fought on the side of Dipanegara. His work should therefore show why at least one Javanese deemed it worthwhile to fight for the prince. His general bias should also complement that of Diapanegara and contrast with that of Tjakranegara. Therefore this babad also deserves publishing and translation to further elucidate the Java War and Dipanegara's part in it.

These are the three different babads known to Louw in 1896 and commonly regarded since that time as the only Javanese sources available on the war. However, at least four other Javanese versions of the war have come to light during this century, and found their way into the Leiden Library.[2]

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1 See Louw, op. cit., p.85.

2 These new versions were collected over the years by G.J. Oudemans, Rinkes and Hazeu and later presented to the Leiden University Library. See Pigeaud, 'Literature of Java', vol.II, pp.6-9.

d) <u>Surakarta and Jogjakarta court versions of the Dipanegara troubles</u>

There are four MSS. in this category. Nos. LOR 2114,[1] 6199 and 6200 represent the Surakarta tradition and the Yogya version is No. LOR 8603.[2] LOR 2114 was written in 1825 and there are considerable differences with the <u>Buku Kědung Kěbo</u>. LOR 6199 and 6200 were both part of the Audemans collection presented to the Leiden Library in 1921. As Pigeaud has described them the end of 6199 corresponds to the beginning of 6200. LOR 8603 is dated 1867 and this particular copy was made in 1904. It was part of the collection of MSS. belonging to Dr Rinkes, bequeathed to the Leiden Library in 1954.

The contents of these four MSS. are completely unknown and should provide an interesting comparison to the three better known babads. All four babads seem to have been copied from MSS. in possession of court notables and this may point to their taking an anti-Dipanegara attitude. Confirmation or otherwise of this assertion must await their editing and translation.

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1 LOR 2114 was presumably known to Roorda for it came from his own collection. However, it was naturally of no use to him, as it was a completely different version from the one he translated in 1860. This MS., which is only a fragment of some original work, has attracted little attention from scholars. It is described at some length in Vreede, '<u>Catalogus</u>', 1892, pp.143-5, and is briefly mentioned in Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.69.

2 Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.346.

e) Ali Basah's history of Dipanegara

Only one MS. is available of this version: LOR 8553.[1] This history, written in Jogja and dated 1883, is supposed to have been written with information provided by Ali Basah, one of Dipanegara's captains in the war. If this is true (its editing and translation can verify this) then this version can add an interesting perspective to the others already known. It could be compared to Aria Djajadiningrat's Babad or fruitfully contrasted with Tjakranegara's. But this babad is as yet a closed book.

f) The Babad Dipanegaran Surja Ngalam

The codex number of this MS. is LOR 6488.[2] It is a history of the Java War by Muhammad Arip. This work, part of the Hazeu collection, was apparently meant as an edifying work for the author's descendants. Its contents also are completely unknown.

g) The Djajabaja Babad Dipanegaran

This fragmentary version forms part of MS. No. NBS 37 pages 5-9.[3] It is unfortunate that this MS. should be fragmentary and unfinished for it could have proved to be quite important to our study of Dipanegara's aims and motives. The babad begins with a mention of the Djajabaja

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1 Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.489.

2 Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.480.

3 Pigeaud, op. cit., vol.II, p.720.

prophecies which foretell the coming of the Messiah. It is interesting to see the prophecies mentioned in context with the Babad Dipanegaran for Dipanegara later took the Messianic title Erutjakra which is known from the Djajabaja prophecies. This version of the Babad Dipanegaran may therefore have given us some clue as to Dipanegara's relation with the Djajabaja prophecies. But it is unfinished and untranslated.

One final Javanese source has often been totally overlooked. This is the correspondence of Dipanegara. One can only guess at the nature of his correspondence and where to find it, let alone the number of letters he may have written. It is astonishing that no interest has been shown in this possible source which might have revealed intimate details of Dipanegara's life and given some insight into his most personal thoughts.

In fact only two such letters have ever been published and translated.[1] Here also much work remains in a field which could produce points of view quite different from those to be found in the specifically historical Javanese sources.

In the light of the above review, only one conclusion is possible. There is no justification for complacency about our knowledge of the Javanese sources for the Java War.

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1 J.J. de Hollander, 'Twee Brieven van Dipa Negara', BKI (25), 1877, pp.192-6.

It has been shown that very little is in fact known about the three most famous versions of the Babad Dipanegara, upon which scholars in this century have most often relied. There are no authoritative editions of them and translations are either incomplete or inaccessible.

Moreover, in this century four further versions have come to light but nothing is known of their contents. How can one properly write a history of the Java War when one is compelled to ignore the great volume of Javanese material awaiting scholarly analysis. There is no alternative but to undertake the massive task of editing, translating and publishing these works so that they can become accessible to large numbers of scholars and excite new interest in the field of Javanese history generally.

B Why use a Javanese source?

The controversy among historians of Southeast Asia regarding 'Europe-centric', 'Asia-centric' or 'Java-centric' perspectives has achieved some success in so far as it has forced historians to take more account of the indigenous historical sources available in their fields. Though the majority of the histories of Indonesia are still records of the Dutch in Indonesia and of limited interest to the

student of the indigenous societies,[1] an increasing number of works have consciously set out to see events and periods through Indonesian or Javanese eyes. These studies have confirmed that beneath the veneer of the Netherlands East Indies, indigenous societies remained viable and functioning.[2]

The period of the Java War has been studied almost exclusively from the Dutch or Western perspective,[3] and in

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1 This problem was most obvious when the need arose to prepare notes for a résumé of the history of Mataram from the sixteenth century to 1822 (see Chapter II). In Hall's 'History of Southeast Asia' this period is covered by two chapters whose titles betray their Europe-centrism: Chapter 16 '<u>The Zenith and Decline of the V.O.C.</u>'; and Chapter 25 '<u>Indonesia from the Fall of the V.O.C. to the Recall of Raffles, 1799-1816</u>'. This approach to the history of the period was common to the majority of works consulted. To read this Europe-centric history, one would imagine that the Dutch overwhelmed the Javanese, whose courts and social institutions had consequently ceased to function or be of importance. This is of course nonsense and there are a number of Javanese babads which could demonstrate that Javanese society still functioned quite healthily.

2 Resink, in a recapitulation of his views on the relations that obtained between the Netherlands and her East India domains, emphasised that both legally and in practice the Netherlands' power in 'East India' was very much a veneer. Indigenous society in the native states (and these included Jogjakarta and Solo) still flourished under the umbrella of Dutch suzerainty. It is this indigenous society and its history to which we should increasingly turn our attention. See G.J. Resink, '<u>Indonesia's History Between the Myths</u>', The Hague, 1968, especially 'The All-but-inverted Image', pp.327-48.

3 An important exception to this, is the growing body of post-1945 Indonesian histories of Dipanegara and the war. These are written with a nationalist bias, and refute the Western interpretations. In these works Dipanegara becomes a nationalist, a supporter of ideas suspiciously akin to Pantjasila (Pantjasila: The Five Principles, the Indonesian State ideology embracing Belief in God; Nationalism; Humanitarianism; Democracy; Social Justice). See Sagimun, '<u>Pahlawan Dipanegara Berdjuang</u>', Jogjakarta, 1947; J.H. Tarumetor, '<u>Aku Pangeran Dipanegara</u>', Gunung Agung, Djakarta, 1967; Tamar Djaja, '<u>Pusaka Indonesia</u>', Djakarta, 1966. Pp.385-407, 'Pangeran Diponegoro'.

academic and populist works the war has come to be regarded as an epoch in the history of the extension of Dutch power in the Indies. In brief, it is depicted as <u>the</u> Dutch victory which brought Java to her knees and assured the Dutch of pre-eminence in the Archipelago. Some have even characterized the war as a salutory lesson to the Javanese after which they gave up Islamic fanaticism and debilitating wars, and took on modern ways and the task of filling the Netherlands' treasury. Such an extreme 'Europe-centric' view has developed because the only sources properly analysed and readily available have been Western sources. The neglect of Javanese sources is to be deplored particularly in view of the number of babads that were written. If the Javanese held the war to be sufficiently important to produce several histories of it, their views may well have some bearing on assessments of it.

This study of Tjakranegara's babad has confirmed that the Javanese had distinct and valuable opinions to offer about the war. These opinions, with proper analysis, would have been of interest to the nineteenth century scholars who first established a view of the war. It is true that the Javanese perspective in Tjakranegara's babad is blurred by traditional motifs and the intrusion of myth and its merging with fact.[1] However, with careful analysis, it has provided a formulation of a Javanese view of the war.

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[1] There has been considerable debate on the usefulness of traditionalist histories to the Western historian whose principal preoccupation is 'fact'. There has been a tendency to wholly reject the <u>babads</u> as fictional and mythical. However studies by scholars such as Professor Berg have demonstrated that there is much valuable material in the <u>babads</u>, and techniques and insights have been suggested to facilitate the sifting of historical facts from the myth and fiction.

The establishing of distinct Dutch and Javanese views should not be an end in itself. Rather, in the comparing and reconciliation of the two views there should emerge an assessment which, because it takes account of <u>all</u> sides, is more accurate and therefore more authoritative.

There is an urgent need for a balanced view of the Java war. The 'Europe-centric' view has tended to emphasise the role of the Dutch military and thereby to neglect the fact that the war was fought by Dipanegara principally against the Jogja court. It will be shown that the war had its origins in a bitter conflict for supremacy between the 'patih' of Jogja, Danuredja, and Dipanegara.[1] This view of the origins of the war suggested by Tjakranegara, emphasises <u>Javanese</u> motives for forcing this personal conflict to a violent denouement, thereby removing the Dutch to the periphery of events. In the Dutch conception, their armed forces intervened to defend their interests in Java. According to the Javanese view, the Dutch were embroiled in the conflict by the wily Danuredja who used them to attain <u>his</u> aim of eliminating Dipanegara.

Much has been written by Western scholars on the causes of the war, and a number of factors have been referred to as

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1 See further Chapter V.

interacting to bring about the war.[1] In particular the Dutch have pointed to economic causes, including the cancellation of land rentals by Governor-General van der Capellan in 1824,[2] the cession of various lands to the Dutch in 1825,[3] and the excessive charges made by Chinese toll-gate proprietors.[4] It is understandable that economics should loom so large in the Dutch perspective of events in Indonesia for money-making was their principal purpose in

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1 Those who have speculated on the causes of the war include:

(i) Those who wrote during, or just after, the war

Those who wrote at this time often did so for self-preservation (Governor-General van der Capellen, Smissaert) while others speculated on causes in order to bring the incumbent administration down and replace them (Nahuys, de Salis, Mac.Gillavry, van Sevenhoven). The Commissioner-General, du Bus de Gisignies, who arrived in Java in 1826 to investigate the causes of the war also cast a wide net. See P.H. van der Kemp, 'Dipanegara, een Geschiedkundige Hamlettype', BKI (1896), pp.278-433.

(ii) The scholars of the 1890's

Foremost among these are Veth, van der Kemp, and Louw. See Bibliography.

(iii) Twentieth century writers

These include van Praag and Hallema. See Bibliography.

2 P.H. van der Kemp, 'De Economische Oorzaken van den Java - Oorlog van 1825-1830', BKI, vol.47 (1897), pp.1-48, especially Part II 'De Intrekking van de Landverhuuring'; P.J. Veth, 'JAVA, Geographisch, Ethnologisch, Historisch', Part II, Haarlem, 1898; D.W. van Welderen Rengers, 'The Failure of a Liberal Colonial Policy', 1947, Chapter V, 'G.-G. van der Capellen'.

3 P.H. van der Kemp, 'De Economische Oorzaken', op.cit., Part III, 'De Ontneming der Landen Karangkobar en Djabarangkah'.

4 P.H. van der Kemp, 'De Economische Oorzaken', op.cit., Part IV.

maintaining colonies.[1] For Tjakranegara neglect of the sawahs and dwindling commerce were signs of the impending destruction of the kingdom and not indicators of economic mismanagement.[2] Moreover he makes no mention at all of the Chinese exactions nor of the cancellation of land rental, and he only briefly refers to the cession of lands to the Dutch.[3]

The Dutch also considered as causes Dipanegara's ambitions on the throne and his bitterness towards the court and the resident when these ambitions were thwarted; his religious fanaticism; and his weak character.[4] Tjakranegara on the contrary continually emphasised Dipanegara's disinterest in the throne.[5] Tjakranegara does

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1 This was particularly the policy of the Company (V.O.C.), but the profit motive remained even after the disbandment of the Company in 1795:

> In its report the Commission (of 1803) stipulated that all colonies existed for the benefit of the Mother Country. This was a maxim to which even the most progressive persons of these days would not object.

F. van Welderen Rengers, op.cit., p.16.

2 See further Chapter III.

3 See Canto IV, v.70, and relevant section of the Summary.

4 Van der Kemp provides the following list of Dipanegara's character traits (as he saw them):

> innate melancholia; desire for rejection of society and women; suicidal tendencies; inertia; passivity; sarcasm; capacity for sudden bursts of anger; irritability; tendency to be domineering; susceptibility to hallucinations; insanity.

See P.H. van der Kemp, 'Dipanegara, een Geschiedkundige Hamlettype', BKI (1896), pp.283-433.

5 Canto I, v.17-31; Canto II, v.20; Canto III, v.54-6.

state that the patih and Queen Mother often tried to persuade the Resident that Dipanegara did covet the throne. This may well be the source for the Dutch insistence on Dipanegara's ambition. With respect to Dipanegara's 'religious fanaticism', Tjakranegara as a Muslim himself admired the prince's religiosity (though he once playfully criticized some of his excesses).[1]

The Dutch views on the causes of the war have been expounded at considerable length over the last 140 years and their perspective has moulded the conception of the Java War which is generally accepted today. This conception is unfavourable to Dipanegara,[2] and it tends rather naturally to overplay the Dutch role. The babad of Tjakranegara provides a balance. It is not biased in favour of Dipanegara. In fact, it states unequivocally that Dipanegara's cause must fail.[3] Yet Tjakranegara does paint a sympathetic picture of the prince and we may assume that many Javanese shared the same view. The Dutch moreover are removed to the periphery of events in the babad. For

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1 Canto IV, v.41-5. See also Chapter III.

2 The obvious exception to this is the group of post-1945 Indonesian histories (see above). Because Dipanegara fought the Dutch, and because Dutch comment on him has generally been unfavourable, the feudal prince, who may have had little time for the ideas of Pantjasila, has been turned into a <u>pahlawan</u> (hero) and a fighter for Indonesian nationalism before it even existed. These works have not based themselves on indigenous sources as might have been expected and are no more than a rewriting or 'retooling' of the Dutch sources.

3 See Chapter III, 'Signs and Portents in the Babad'.

Tjakranegara the only vestiges of Dutch power are the 'Residen' in his 'Lodji',[1] far away 'Semarang'[2] and even further away the '<u>Gubenur Djendral ing Batawijah</u>'[3] and his '<u>Rateni</u>'.[4] In short the whole feeling of the babad suggests the remoteness of the Dutch power. The babad also suggests that the Resident had no sweeping powers, and functioned not as a law-giver but merely as the envoy of a foreign country to its vassal state. The residents gave their assent - they never gave orders. With Dutch power placed in this new perspective, Tjakranegara developed his concept of the origins of the war. As he saw it, the war grew out of the conflict of the patih Danuredja and the senior prince of the kingdom, Dipanegara. In the past princes and ministers had fought for supremacy on many occasions and in the eyes of Tjakranegara this fresh struggle must have fitted easily into the pattern that was familiar from the past.

This Javanese concept of the war was moulded by the Javanese world view and picture of the past, and taken on

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1 From Dutch 'Loge', lodge, i.e. the Residency.

2 The capital of the Dutch North Coast District which had long been under direct Dutch rule. Jogjakarta seems to have had its principal connections with Batavia through Semarang and thereafter by sea. The North Coast district had its own 'governor'.

3 The Governor-General in Batavia.

4 A Javanese corruption of <u>Raad van Indie</u>, the Council of the Indies, the body whose function it was to assist and advise the Governor-General in Batavia. See Canto III, v.39.

its own it gives a valuable insight into these two facets of Javanese society. In conjunction with the Dutch views, it will enable a more balanced assessment of the war and its origins to be made. The achieving of a more balanced and representative assessment is a compelling reason for making more use of the indigenous Javanese sources.

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CHAPTER II

A HISTORY OF THE MATARAM AND JOGJAKARTA PERIOD FROM ITS BEGINNING CIRCA 1575 A.D. UNTIL 1822 A.D.[1]

In the second half of the sixteenth century a certain Ki Gedé Mataram was given the district of Mataram in Central Java by his master, the Sultan of Pajang, in return for having killed a rival of the sultan. Ki Gedé Mataram established a settlement at Kuta Gedé, which was at that time still barren and deserted. People came to settle there and his settlement began to prosper.[2] This was the modest beginning of the powerful Mataram dynasty.

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[1]This very brief history of the Mataram period has been included to provide a historical background to the present study. Dipanegara as an heir of Sultan Agung and Sénapati was aware of, and influenced by, the deeds of his forebears. A proper understanding of Dipanegara and the political atmosphere of early ninteenth century Java therefore requires an appreciation of the history of Central and East Java during the whole Mataram period, which includes Jogja and Surakarta. It is important to realise that for Javanese in the early 1800's 'Mataram' still existed in the form of Solo and Jogja. (Tjakranegara repeatedly refers to Jogja as 'Mataram'). 1822 A.D. is the date of the accession of Sultan Ménol of Jogja, Dipanegara's nephew. The years 1822-5 are covered in the chapter describing events leading up to the outbreak of war.

[2]The idea that a 'man of destiny' like Ki Gedé Mataram could build a new state in a jungle wilderness and attract a population because of his generoisty or kasektèn (supernatural powers) was very popular among the Javanese. It appears in the Pararaton where Widjaja sets up the kingdom of Majapahit in the forest of the Trik people (J. Brandes, Pararaton, revised ed. 1920, pp.118-9). It is also to be found in popular works, e.g. the 'Hikajat Pandji Semirang', Balai Pustaka, 1953, p.48: 'many people from the neighbouring country of Kuripan came to the country of Kelana Pandji Semirang and became its citizens, so that the country prospered'. This tradition finds a practical explanation in the fact that while Java's population was still small the citizens of one state who were being sorely pressed by their ruler, could easily move into a deserted area not under his jurisdiction. Here they would come under the protection of an energetic and ambitious man who could eventually challenge the old king. In this he would be backed by the resources of the refugees who had gathered around him.

In about the year 1575 Ki Gedé died and he was succeeded by his son Sénapati. It was Sénapati who bore the first fruits of the prophecy that the descendants of Ki Gedé would rule all Java. He developed a power base in Kuta Gedé and defeated the Sultan of Pajang. By subduing Surabaja and East Java, he established the pre-eminence of Mataram.

Sénapati died in 1601 and was succeeded by his son Panembahan Krapjak,[1] who ruled until 1613. Panembahan Krapjak was succeeded in 1613 by his son Radèn Mas Rangsang.[2] The latter, better known by his posthumous title Sultan Agung,[3] extended the power of Mataram over most of Java. Surabaja, Gresik, Madura, Giri and Tjeribon were all subdued. Only Bantam and the extreme East did not recognize the suzerainty of Mataram. In 1629 Sultan Agung unsuccessfully challenged the Dutch by laying siege to Batavia. Sultan Agung had an ambivalent attitude towards Islam. He took the

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1 His full posthumous title was Panembahan Séda-ing-Krapjak (the lord who died in the hunting field).

2 Sultan Agung did not immediately succeed to the throne. A younger brother, radèn Marta Pura, ascended the throne, but for a very short time only. See H.J. de Graaf, 'Regering van Sultan Agung', op.cit., p.26.

3 When he first acceded to the throne he had the title Prabu Anjakrakusuma (Tjakrakusuma). This title has been preserved in babads and other traditional writing, e.g. the Djajabaja predictions. See further Chapter IV. In 1624 he took the title 'Susuhunan' (the lord who is carried on the head). This title has been preserved in Surakarta. In 1641 he acquired the title of Sultan from Mecca. In full his new title was 'Sultan Abdul Muhammad Maulana Materani'. His posthumous title Sultan Agung 'The Great Sultan' derives from this Islamic title acquired from Mecca.

Islamic title of Sultan, and in several ways expressed support for Islam.[1] However he did not convert Mataram into a Muslim state and the interior of Java retained its Hindu-Buddhist aspect. Sultan Agung died in 1645 and he was buried at Imagiri, a mountain-top not far from his kraton of Karta. Since that time Imagiri has been used as the burial place for the kings of Mataram, Jogja and Solo.

His son succeeded him with the title Amangkurat I. He was a particularly cruel king, slaughtering 5,000 muslims who had assembled in the alun-alun of the palace.[2] In 1674 a serious rebellion broke out in East Java under the leadership of Trunadjaja, a Madurese prince. He captured most of East Java and established his kraton in Kediri. In 1676 (the Javanese year 1600) Trunadjaja attacked Mataram itself and captured it. European histories usually claim

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1 E.g. in 1633 he made a trip to Tembajat, the burial place of the wali Ki Pandan Arang and an important Muslim centre. After this he announced that the Saka era (i.e. the era beginning A.D. 78) would be retained, but the solar year of 365 days would be replaced by the Islamic lunar year of 354-5 days. This is the origin of the unique Javanese calendar.

2 The cruelty of a king is often a sign of the impending downfall of the kingdom. This is certainly true of the account of Sunan Djarot in the Babad Dipanegara (see Canto III). In the context of Amangkurat I's reign it must be remembered that according to tradition the kingdom of Mataram was to end in the Javanese year 1600 (1676 A.D.) i.e. during the reign of Amangkurat I (see further Chapter IV and Babad Tanah Djawi, op.cit., p.168). Thus the cruelty of Amangkurat I may be no more than a fiction devised by the Javanese writer of the Babad to reinforce the view that Mataram was destined to end in the near future.

that Amangkurat was driven from his kraton: 'Trunadjaja, profiting by the Dutch half-measures, stormed and sacked the kraton of Mataram, and Amangkurat, fleeing to place himself under Dutch protection, died at Tegalwangi'.[1] The Babad Tanah Djawi however states that Amangkurat left the kraton willingly, knowing that it was God's will that Mataram, because it had already lasted 100 years,[2] should now be replaced by another kingdom.[3]

Amangkurat having left Mataram died soon after at Tegalwangi. His son's claims however were taken up by the Dutch and by 1677 they had captured Kediri and soon after Trunadjaja himself. The son of Amangkurat was therefore crowned as susuhunan and took the title Amangkurat II.[4] The new king constructed a new capital at Kartasura. Amangkurat II died in 1703 and was succeeded by his son who took the title Amangkurat III. He also is depicted as a bloodthirsty tyrant, but in view of Pangéran Puger's impending usurpation, the king's cruelty may have been no more than the babad writer's fiction designed to make the fall of Amangkurat III seem presaged by fate.[5]

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1 D.G.E. Hall, op.cit., p.302.

2 Sénapati succeeded Ki Gedé Mataram in about 1575 A.D. See above.

3 Babad Tanah Djawi, op.cit., p.168. Traditional political theory in Java held that kingdoms could endure no longer than 64, 80 or 100 years. See further Chapter III.

4 Thus proving the predictions and tradition to be wrong. See further Chapter IV, 'Messianic Traditions'.

5 See above, note 1.

An uncle of Amangkurat III, Pangéran Puger, sought assistance from the Dutch in 1704 in order to gain the throne for himself.[1] With Dutch help he was installed in Kartasura and took the title Pakubuwana I. Amangkurat III fled from the capital and joined forces with the Balinese rebel Surapati who, having been expelled from West Java in the 1680's by the Dutch, had established a new power base in East Java. Only in 1707 were Sunan Mas[2] and the sons of

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[1] According to the Babad Tanah Djawi (p.260) Pangéran Puger had already been given the right to rule Kartasura, for he had received the wahju (royal lustre) from the former king Amangkurat II. In traditional terms the Babad Tanah Djawi also related how Pangéran Puger obtained the assistance of the Dutch in his usurpation of the throne:

> The Governor-General in Batavia discussed with his councillors what should be done about the accession of Amangkurat III to the throne of Surakarta. They advised that the tenung Welanda (Dutch wizard) should be hired to kill the new king. He had killed several kings in other countries. He was therefore hired and sent to Kartasura. Arriving at the palace he appeared before the king in the middle of the night and said to him: 'I am the tenung Welanda; are you the king of Java?' The king was so terrified by the horrible sight of the wizard that he replied: 'I am not the king. The king of Java is my uncle who lives in the Kapugeran (Residence of the prince Puger), to the north of here!. The wizard then went to the house of Pangéran Puger, who when told that Mangkurat III had said that he was king accepted it graciously. Pangéran Puger then pitted his magical powers against those of the wizard, whom he turned into a dwarf. The wizard returned to Batavia.

In this way the author of the Babad showed how Pangéran Puger was accepted as king by the Dutch, because Mangkurat III had stated this to the envoy of Batavia, the wizard. The author also made it clear that Puger was not to be considered a puppet of the Dutch, by making Puger's magic stronger than that of the wizard. See Babad Tanah Djawi, op.cit., pp.264-5.

[2] Another name for Amangkurat III.

Surapati[1] defeated in battle and Sunan Mas exiled to Ceylon.

In 1719 Pakubuwana I died and his son succeeded him as Amangkurat IV. The succession of Amangkurat IV was contested by his own brothers Pangéran Purbaja, Pangéran Blitar, Pangéran Dipanegara,[2] and Pangéran Dipasanta. These rebel princes[3] established themselves in the eastern area of Java,[4] where the remnants of Surapati's supporters were also still active. The Dutch supported Amangkurat IV and by 1723 all the rebel princes had been captured and exiled, either to the Cape of Good Hope or Ceylon.[5]

Amangkurat IV died in 1727 and was succeeded by his son who took the title Pakubuwana II. The reign of Pakubuwana II was seriously disturbed by the Chinese and the Madurese wars which lasted from 1741 to 1745. The rebellion of the Chinese was occasioned by the mass slaughter of Chinese in Batavia. Chinese in Central Java allied

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1 Surapati himself was killed in 1706.

2 The namesake of Pangéran Dipanegara of Jogja; he also took the title Erutjakra. See further for detailed history, Chapter IV, 'Messianic traditions'.

3 They also had the support of Pangéran Mataram, a brother of Pakubuwana I.

4 Pangéran Dipanegara Erutjakra I was overlord of all the lands 'east of Mt Lawu'.

5 See J.J. Meinsma, 'Geschiedenis van Kartasoera Volgens de Babad in prozawerking van den heer C.F. Winter Sr', BKI 28 (1880), pp.565-78.

themselves with dissident princes and attacked Semarang and Kartasura. Semarang was relieved by Dutch reinforcements, but Kartasura was overrun and Pakubuwana II forced to evacuate the kraton. The rebels proclaimed a grandson of Amangkurat III[1] susuhunan. The Dutch however defeated the rebels and reinstated Pakubuwana II, who then had to make great concessions to the Dutch. He ceded the North Coast to the Dutch and gave up his claims to the island of Madura.[2] Because the old kraton had been defiled by the Chinese rebels, Pakubuwana II built a new capital at Surakarta.

The Madurese had greatly assisted the Dutch during this rebellion, in the hope of gaining their independence. However when peace returned in 1743, the Madurese found themselves under Dutch 'protection'. Under their leader Tjakraningrat IV they also rebelled and it took another two years for the Dutch to restore peace in Java.

Pakubuwana II's reign was further disturbed by a dispute with his brother Mangkubumi.[3] In 1745 Pakubuwana

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1 The former Sunan Mas, who had been exiled to Ceylon.

2 The North Coast area was made into a directly governed province, with Semarang as its capital. This was the largest grant of territory made by Mataram to the Dutch up until that time, and it marked an important change in the relations between Mataram and the Dutch. However it must be remembered that Mataram still controlled most of Central Java and retained its claims in East Java.

3 An important source for the period of the Mangkubumi war is Dr Soekanto, 'Sekitar Jogjakarta', Djakarta 1952.

had promulgated that whoever captured the rebels Radèn Mas Said[1] and Martapura,[2] would be given the district of Sukawati. Mangkubumi was able to quell the rebellion and destroy its forces, but Mas Said and Martapura escaped. Though Mangkubumi had achieved a great deal of success, Pakubuwana, at the suggestion of his jealous patih Pringgalaja, did not reward him with Sukawati and gave him instead 1,000 tjatjahs[3] of land. Mangkubumi could in no way get satisfaction from the king, and so on the 19 May 1746 he left Surakarta and went to Sukawati, where he joined forces with Mas Said and Martapura. The Dutch supported Pakubuwana II against the rebels. This war continued for nine years and Mangkubumi and his allies were able to inflict several defeats on the Dutch. In 1749 Pakubuwana II died and he was succeeded by his son Pakubuwana III. In a controversial agreement with van Hohendorff, the governor of the North Coast Province, Pakubuwana II on his deathbed gave over Mataram to the

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1 Raden mas Said had rebelled because Pakubuwana II, under the influence of an earlier patih Danureja, had banished his father Pangéran Mangkunegara to Ceylon. Mangkuregara was a younger brother of Pakubuwana II and of Mangkubumi.

2 Martapura, the bupati of Grobogan, had simply rebelled against the authority of Pakubuwana II.

3 A Javanese measure of area.

protection of the Company.[1] By 1754 the Dutch had realized however that they were close to defeat and determined in consultation with Pakubuwana III to come to terms with Mangkubumi by dividing the kingdom.[2] Thus by the treaty of Gianti, concluded on 13 February 1755, the kingdom of Mataram was divided into two halves. Pakubuwana III retained the capital Surakarta and his domain included the eastern portions of the kingdom. Mangkubumi received the southern and western portions and he set up a new capital which he called Ngajogjakarta Adiningrat.[3] Mas

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1 The Javanese and Dutch texts of this agreement are to be found in Soekanto, op.cit., pp.178-81. The agreement was 'controversial', because it was taken by some to mean that Mataram had been given outright to the Dutch. This was not in fact the case, It was placed under Dutch protection, in the same way that the Crown Prince was placed under their protection. It is interesting to note that the legal and administrative status of Mataram did not change as a result of this agreement. Jogja and Surakarta were not incorporated in the directly governed territories, and retained their territorial identity and independent government. The presence of residents in the two principalities suggests that they were <u>under the protection of the Netherlands</u>, and not possessions as some have claimed from a reading of this agreement (see G.J. Resink, <u>Indonesia's History between the Myths</u>, op.cit.).

2 The same offer of an independent territory to govern was made to Dipanegara when he met with General de Kock in Magelang in March 1830. De Kock discussed with Dipanegara how much territory he wanted, and promised that he would be an independent prince like the Mangkunegara and the Paku Alam. Dipanegara is reported to have refused, claiming that he wanted to be recognized as Head of the Islamic religion in Java. See P.H. van der Kemp, 'Dipanegara een Geschiedkundige Hamlettype', op.cit., pp.426-7.

3 <u>Ngajogjakarta</u>, the original form of the name of Mangkubumi's capital (it is to be found in Tjakranegara's babad) is probably a Javanese corruption of the Sanskrit <u>Ayodhya</u>, the mythical capital of Rama, the hero of the Ramayana. Thus Mangkubumi's capital was linked with the illustrious capital of Rama.

Said continued to fight the Dutch until on 24 February 1757 he surrendered to the susuhunan of Surakarta. By the treaty of Salatiga Mas Said was given territory which he could govern as an independent principality. This territory which was ceded by Surakarta was termed the Mangkunegaran, and Mas Said and his successors were the Mangkunegara princes.

The History of Jogjakarta

On his accession to the throne of Jogja, Mangkubumi took the title Sultan[1] Hamengku Buwana I. He also appointed temenggung Judanegara his patih (prime minister) and he gave him the name Danuredja, which was later taken by all the patihs of Jogja. The treaties of Gianti and Salatiga brought peace to Central Java and the reign of Sultan Hamengku Buwana I was peaceful. He died in 1792 and was succeeded by his son who took the title Hamengku Buwana II, and who is also known by his posthumous name of Sultan Sepuh or the 'old Sultan'. Sultan Sepuh's reign was difficult in view of the increasing Dutch pressure on the independent kingdoms of Java. The conflict between the Dutch and the Javanese rulers was exacerbated by the appointment of Williams Daendels as Governor-General. He arrived in Java in 1808, the representative of Louis Bonaparte, king of the Netherlands, with orders to fortify

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1 The kings of Jogja used the title of Sultan which had not been used since Sultan Agung acquired it from Mecca in 1641. The kings of Surakarta retained the title of Susuhunan.

Java against the British. Daendels did much to alienate and cause anxiety to Sultan Sepuh. In 1808 he led an army into Bantam, deposed its Sultan and incorporated it in the territory of the Netherlands. He also established new regulations for ceremonial in the principalities whereby Dutch officials no longer had to pay due respect to the rulers. Anxiety about Dutch intentions towards Jogja led to the creation of two opposing cliques within the court. Sultan Sepuh allied himself with the princes Natakusuma, Natadiningrat (the former's son) and Radèn Rangga Prawiradirdja III, the bupati of Madiun and overseer of the Mantjanegara.[1] This group was firmly opposed to the further extension of Dutch power into Jogja. Allied to the interests of the Dutch were the Crown Prince Pangéran Adipati Anom,[2] and the patih Danuredja II.[3]

In February 1810 Daendels heard that Radèn Rangga had burned and plundered the villages of Ngebel and Sekedok in Surakarta. Immediately he ordered Sultan Sepuh to surrender Radèn Rangga for punishment. Sultan Sepuh hesitated and replaced Danuredja II with the anti-Dutch Natadiningrat. Daendels however inisisted that Danuredja

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1 The state of Jogja was divided into the 'Nagara agung' the inner area of the country with the capital at its centre, and the Mantjanegara, the outlying areas. The bupati of Madiun was traditionally the overseer of the Mantjanegara and this post had remained with the family of Radèn Rangga.

2 Father of Dipanegara.

3 Danuredja I died in 1799 and was succeeded by his grandson Radèn Temenggung Martanagara. He took the title Danuredja II.

be re-installed and on 12 Novembr 1810 this order was carried out. Radèn Rangga's departure for Bogor was set for 26 November 1810. Radèn Rangga however left the kraton secretly on 20 November and began a rebellion in the Mantjanegara. Daendels, hearing of the rebellion, called on Sepuh to arrest Natakusuma and Natadiningrat who were implicated in the rebellion. Sepuh was forced to comply with this demand.

In December 1810 Radèn Rangga was killed and peace returned to the Mantjanegara. Daendels used this occasion to go personally to Jogja and on 28 December he deposed Sultan Sepuh and made the Crown Prince king, with the title Kangdjeng Sultan Mataram.

Events however were moving very quickly in Batavia. On 16 May 1811 Daendels was recalled and he was replaced by Janssens. In August 1811 the British landed in Java and on 18 September the Dutch surrendered to the British. Immediately Sultan Sepuh resumed the throne and his son became Crown Prince again. Sepuh murdered his principal enemy Danuredja II in October,[1] and replaced him with the candidate of his own choice, Sindunegara. Having regained his throne Sepuh began to plot with the susuhunan and make plans to eliminate the power of the English from Java.

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1 This is referred to in passing in Tjakranegara's Babad. In Canto II verse 27, he refers to the wife of Sultan Djarot (Dipanegara's brother) as the daughter of the patih Danuredja, who 'died in the palace, murdered by the king'.

The resident John Crawfurd reported the intentions of Sepuh to the new Governor of Java, Thomas Stamford Raffles.[1] Raffles moved quickly and entering Jogjakarta in June 1812 with an army of 1,200 men he deposed Sultan Sepuh and reinstated the Crown Prince. The old king was banished to Penang island, and the Crown Prince was installed on 28 June, taking the title Hamengku Buwana III.[2] The new king, better known as Sultan Radja, had to pay dearly for the English assistance. Pangéran Natukusuma was made an independent prince with the title Paku Alam and he was given 4,000 tjatjahs of land. All of Sepuh's treasury was taken by the English. Sultan Radja also gave up lands in Kedu, Patjitan, Djapan, Djipan and Grobogan. Tjakranegara describes how Sultan Radja came to

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1 Raffles was the founder of Singapore, but he first acquired fame as Governor of Java and the author of the two volume work 'The History of Java', See Maurice Collis, 'Raffles', London, 1966.

2 Tjakranegara's babad begins with the banishing of Sultan Sepuh. In Canto I, verse 13, he describes how, as a result of a devastating storm (the arrival of the English), the king of Djogja was exiled:

> ing Ajogja sang akatong
> kabur binuwang ing sabrang
> I, 13, c. - d.
>
> the king of Ajogja (Jogja)
> was forced into exile abroad.

He was succeeded by his son:

> ingkang putra gumantya
> djumeneng ratu linuhung
> djudjuluk djeng Sunan Radja
> I, 13, e. - g.
>
> his son succeeded him
> he was installed as the excellent king
> he took the name Sunan Radja

regret the concessions he had made to the English:

Kawarnaa sang prabu Mentawis
Kangdjeng Radja ing Ngajogjakarta
sampun tetep keratoné ...
semu mérang sadjroning galih
kaduwung ing pratingkah ...
kang rama binuwang Wlanda
marang Mantja ing Kĕdu sabrang nagri
djinaluk mring Welanda.[1]

At the same time the patih appointed by Sepuh was dismissed and Radèn Temenggung Sumadipura, bupati of Djipan was made patih with the title Danuredja IV. It seems that prince Dipanegara played an important part both in the appointing of the new patih and in the accession to the throne of his father, Sultan Radja. European sources agree that Dipanegara negotiated with the English resident to have his father placed on the throne, after Sepuh had killed the patih Danuredja II and seemed to threaten his own son, the Crown Prince, too.[2] In return for his assistance to the

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[1] Canto II, verse 1, a.-c., e.-f., i.-k.
Let us now describe the king of Mataram,
Kangdjeng Radja by name, ruling in Jogja,
his kingdom was firmly established ...
but he seemed ashamed in his heart
and he regretted his actions ...
because his father had been banished by the English
and the Mantjanegara lands in Kĕdu and other lands
were requested by the English.

We should note that Tjakranegara fails to distinguish between the Dutch and English, always referring to the latter as '<u>Welanda</u>', i.e. Dutch. This indicates how vague the notions held even by sophisticated Javanese were about things European.

[2] E.g. see P.H. van der Kemp, 'Hamlettype', op.cit., pp.298-9.

English and to his father Dipanegara is supposed to have been offered the position of Crown Prince. This however he refused:

> Let us look at the situation in Jogja (in early 1812). The English wish Dipanegara, in return for his services in the war against his grandfather Sepuh, to be named Crown Prince, while his father Radja becomes Sultan. He hesitates however because he does not wish to usurp the morally stronger claims of his brother Djarot'. [1]

Tjakranegara corroborates the European sources. In Canto I he relates how Sultan Radja offered to make Dipanegara Crown Prince, as he had already promised to do.[2] This promise was presumably made when his father came to the throne. Dipanegara refused his father's offer, because his brother Djarot, as the son of the chief queen, had a stronger claim to the throne.[3] Tjakranegara also states that Dipanegara had Radèn Temenggung Sumadipura appointed as Danuredja IV in 1812.[4] Thus it seems that Dipanegara was in a position of considerable influence in the years 1810 to 1812, and he was therefore able to ensure the succession of his father and the appointment of the patih who was to become his inveterate enemy in the 1820's.

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1 P.H. van der Kemp, 'Hamlettype', op.cit., p.304.

2 Canto I, verse 18, a.

3 Canto I, verses 23-4.

4 Canto III, verse 69; Canto IV, verse 72; Canto V, verse 10. This same Danuredja was to become a confirmed enemy of Dipanegara and was instrumental in provoking the prince's rebellion.

Sultan Radja died in November 1814 and he was succeeded by Dipanegara's younger brother Djarot, who acceded to the throne on 16 November 1814 with the title Hamengku Buwana IV. Djarot was only ten years of age when he became king, and his mother took him under her wing. He acquired a taste for the pleasures of the flesh, and he lived an extravagant and wasteful life. He became cruel, and when he went riding in his carriage soldiers in the accompanying retinue were often knocked from their horses and run down.[1] Djarot died in 1822, possibly as a result of the strenuous and debilitating life he had led. There were unconfirmed suspicions that he had been poisoned, and some European writers suspected that Dipanegara had poisoned him. However Tjakranegara states that the food that Djarot was eating when he died was provided by Pangéran Mangkubumi, the uncle of Djarot. There is little reason to suspect Dipanegara's complicity in the death of his brother.

Djarot was succeeded by his son Menol who was only two years old when he succeeded to the throne on 19 December 1822 with the title Hamengku Buwana V. European sources have claimed that Dipanegara had expected to succeed his brother because the Crown Prince was so young. It is said that Dipanegara had the written agreement of his father that he should succeed his brother. Tjakranegara on the

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1 See Canto II, verse 33 sq., and Summary.

contrary states that Dipanegara willingly assented to the succession of his nephew:

> Déné ta atmadjaningwang
> tetep madeg narapati.[1]

Though the succession of Menol may not have aroused the anger of Dipanegara, as some have suggested, other factors were already in evidence which were to trigger off a new rebellion like those of Radèn Rangga or Pangéran Mangkubumi which had shattered the peace of Mataram in the past. The events which led to war in 1825 are taken up in Chapter V.

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1 Canto III, verse 56 a.-b.
As for my son (in fact, nephew)
he should be firmly established as king.

CHAPTER III

SIGNS AND PORTENTS: THEIR ROLE IN THE BABAD

One problem for historians of Java working from Javanese sources is the manifestly unhistorical nature of mythological and traditional elements that are a natural part of Javanese historical writing. The tendency has been to reject, rather than to understand. However in understanding these elements and the rationale of their inclusion in historical works, one can gain an important insight into the Javanese view of events. Indicative of this problem is the importance of the presumably mythical search for signs which Dipanegara is supposed by Tjakranegara to have instituted. This episode, which covers over two cantos of the babad, could be dismissed as nonsense, but an understanding of the meaning of the various signs supposedly revealed to Dipanegara gives us a valuable insight into the author's own attitudes towards the prince, and, incidentally, an insight into Javanese historiography generally.

In writing his history of the Java War, Tjakranegara placed some emphasis on the inevitability of the war and of Dipanegara's failure to defeat the Dutch. His reasons for holding this view are largely personal. His means of conveying it derive from traditional Javanese beliefs. In the early cantos, Tjakranegara's theme is expressed in general traditional symbols. In Cantos VI to VIII, the theme is substantially developed in the story of the search

for signs and portents, that was supposedly carried out by the servants of Dipanegara.

Tjakranegara inherited the Javanese world view which held that king, country and heaven were sympathetically attuned to each other, and that when the cosmic order approached its periodic destruction, decay spread in the world, and kings were totally evil and rapacious.[1] According to this view, the messiahs, and the kings of the Golden Age, were unassailable and their kingdoms were strong and illustrious. Tradition described such kingdoms in the following terms:

geḍé oboré	-	great is its torch
paḍang djagadé	-	radiant is its realm
ḍuwur kukusé	-	high rising its smoke
adoh kuntjarané	-	far-reaching its fame.[2]

The evil king, on the contrary, was cruel, profligate and always drunk. He neglected administration, and the people fled from his kingdom. Moreover, the country was continually devastated by earthquakes, storms, floods and showers of ashes. There were eclipses of the sun and moon and other omens. These portents and the uncontrolled behaviour of the king were considered by Javanese tradition to signal the impending downfall and destruction of a kingdom.

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[1] See section on the Javanese Messianic tradition.

[2] S. Moertono, op.cit., p.61.

The post-Gianti period in Javanese history[1] seems to have been regarded as such a 'bad' era, and Javanese came to hope for a period of destruction which would sweep away the problems that had accrued.[2] When the Java War came in 1825, many must have welcomed it as a 'cleansing' war, which promised to rejuvenate society under the leadership of its messiah. Tjakranegara also saw the period before the Java War as essentially 'bad', and he uses traditional motifs to communicate the view that the kingdom of Mataram was doomed to destruction.

In Canto I he speaks of the coming of God's judgement in the form of a devastating storm. Such storms were considered portents of bad times and it seemed to be no coincidence that, as a result, Sultan Sepuh was exiled from his kingdom.[3] The reign of Djarot, Dipanegara's brother, was for Tjakranegara even more ominous and his account of the reign is strongly influenced by the traditional motifs of the 'bad' king. Djarot was still quite young when he came to the throne in 1814. With the connivance of his mother he came to lead a most profligate life, consorting with the most beautiful girls in the kingdom. He was surrounded by the most expensive luxuries and he amused himself with fine clothes, perfumes, aromatic oils, the

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1 i.e. 1755-1825 A.D.

2 See Messianic Traditions.

3 Canto I, verses 8-13.

best food and wine, gamelan orchestras and dancing girls. In particular he was cruel. For example, he liked to go riding in his carriage with an escort of 200 mounted soldiers; 100 would precede the carriage and the remainder followed behind. The king liked speed and the carriage often travelled at higher speeds than the mounted escort in front. Consequently soldiers were overtaken, knocked from their horses and killed by the wheels of the carriage. Moreover Djarot was overbearing in the exercise of power, ordering the pulling down of houses and the destruction of gardens in order to straighten a road.[1]

These attributes of Djarot are those of the evil king who presages the end of the kingdom. Tjakranegara relates how Dipanegara, aware of the behaviour of his brother, and the dangerous consequences, tried to advise him to act in a manner appropriate to kings. He couched his advice in the form of two stories from the <u>Fatah-ul-Muluk</u> (Victory of Kings).[2] The first concerned a king who had forgotten religion and now only sought his own pleasures. He dressed well, had many palace girls, and he drank and ate much. He went walking one day in the city and he saw a beautiful horse. He mounted it immediately. The horse reared up violently, throwing him to the ground. The king's head was split open on a rock. The second story concerned a king of Syria who was equally bad. As a result his kingdom and palace were destroyed in a mighty storm which shook the earth.

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[1]See Canto II for the life of Djarot.

[2]See Canto II, verses 41-55.

In the narration of these two stories Tjakranegara emphasises the implication that Djarot's reign was God's firm sign that Mataram was soon to be destroyed. Dipanegara himself is made to predict the early demise of his brother in view of his many evil deeds:

Gedé temen dosané ariningwang
temahan midjil waspané
duh-aduh jaji prabu
kaja-kaja wus mertandani
tan awèt madeg nata
amengku Mentarum.[1]

In Cantos VI, VII and VIII, Tjakranegara using more explicit traditional signs, reiterates that Mataram was soon to be devastated by a great war, and he also clarified Dipanegara's part in this war. In this episode Dipanegara is said to have despatched his servants in search of traditional signs which could indicate how he might fare in the event of the war that seemed inevitable. Tjakranegara explains at some length how the prince's servants set out on two pilgrimages to holy places and the grave of his ancestor Sultan Agung. Here they sought the traditional tokens of kingship, or awaited signs from God or the ancestors regarding the question which was uppermost in the

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[1] Canto II, verse 44 b-g.
How great are the sins of my younger brother.
He began to cry,
"O my younger brother the king
it is as if it is a sign
that you will not ne king for long
ruling in Mataram".

prince's mind: whether he could expect to be Messiah-king in the near future as a result of a 'cleansing' war.

Tjakranegara, in stressing Dipanegara's supposed dependence on traditional signs, had a particular end in view. The signs he claims were revealed to Dipanegara are all inauspicious. He thereby demonstrates that the defeat of Dipanegara was presaged before the war broke out. There is however a less obvious reason for Tjakranegara making Dipanegara the recipient of inauspicious signs concerning the war. Dipanegara was undoubtedly for Tjakranegara a highly sacred person, most worthy of reverence and yet he fought against him on the side of the Dutch. Writing his babad after the war Tjakranegara must have felt obliged, for reasons of self-justification, to make it seem to have been inevitable before the war that Dipanegara's cause was doomed. To this end he included in his babad a large section enumerating the inauspicious signs which forewarned that Dipanegara must fail in the impending war with the Dutch. Tjakranegara in this way showed that he fought with the Dutch because Dipanegara foolishly flew in the face of hostile fate. This ploy of Tjakranegara explaining Dipanegara's failure in traditional terms must have put his mind at ease and at the same time enabled him to write a history laudatory of the prince, though he at all times reserved this ultimate sanction against the prince of the futility of his cause.

Dipanegara in his autobiography would seem to put a point of view contradicting the views of Tjakranegara.

Dipanegara himself claims to have seen and sought traditional signs of kingship but he also asserts that all such signs were auspicious. This basic difference of opinion derives from the completely different interests of the two authors. In contrast to Tjakranegara, Dipanegara in his autobiography could not admit to having been wrong or misguided and he therefore maintained the assertion that he was destined to be king and Messiah.

Tjakranegara in Canto VI begins to narrate the story of Dipanegara's searching for signs. It is stated that Dipanegara had already become aware of the plotting of the minister Danuredja with the Queen Mother, who were attempting to force the Dutch to take some action against the prince by either imprisoning or banishing him. Danuredja in fact began to circulate rumours that Dipanegara had already begun to mobilize at his estate at Silarong. It is at this point that Dipanegara for the first time considered the real possibility of rebellion. He was however troubled by doubts. Would he be successful? Would he be king? Were God and the ancestors in accord with his ambitions? To allay these doubts, he sent his servants on two pilgrimages in search of signs to answer these questions.

Dipanegara first sent his closest advisor Djajamustapa on a lone journey to Imagiri, the burial place

of Sultan Agung.[1] It is interesting that Tjakranegara should claim that Dipanegara sought in this way to divine the will of his most august ancestor. Dipanegara was in fact a descendant of Sultan Agung through the line of Amengkubuwana I, founder of Jogjakarta. Before he attempted to seize the throne he had first to see if this in fact was agreed to by Sultan Agung who was regarded as having hegemony over the welfare and future of his clan.[2]

Tjakranegara relates how, on the orders of his master, Djajamustapa travelled alone to Imagiri and spent the night there praying at the foot-end of the grave. Here Djajamustapa prayed that a sign be shown him:

> 'Adedonga Djajamustapa sedalu
> duta muga-muga

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1 Tjakranegara records that Dipanegara visited Imagiri himself (Canto IV, verse 39 g) and that he also often visited the Southern Ocean district just as Sénapati did. See further Canto III, verses 1-3; and Canto IV, verses 39-40. These visits were part of Dipanegara's religious pilgrimages, but he cannot have been unaware of the connection of Imagiri and the Southern Ocean with the fortunes of the Mataram dynasty. For Sénapati and Njai Rara Kidul see Babad Tanah Djawi (Javanese version), pp.80-1;and Soemarsaid Moertono, 'State and Statecraft in old Java', Cornell Monograph Series, 1968, p.64.

2 Such seeking of signs from ancestors is not uncommon in Java. Many intending rebels have sought advice in graveyards. Even today in Java exam, time signals pilgrimages to grave sites where students beseech their ancestors to bestow on them blessings to help them to pass.

wontena paring wasité

lamun bésuk pinaringan alamat.'[1]

The following morning he and the custodian of the grave, Ki Balad, re-entered the burial place, and having swept and tidied the area, they sat down to pray. It was then that Djajamustapa noticed a red spot like blood on the curtain covering the grave:

Abang bunder sapiring wetaranipun
pernahé kang erah
tengah benere langséné
makamipun Sultan Agung Mentaram.[2]

This was in fact the sign he had been sent to find. He went outside to ask Ki Balad if the red spot had been there long and what was in fact the meaning of this apparition. Ki Balad explained that God in this sign had decreed that warfare would descend on Java and that much blood would be spilt. For good or bad, this was the will of God and no one could avoid it:

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1 Canto VI, verse 31.

Djajamustapa prayed the whole night
"O may (my master's) envoy
be given a sign
if he be given a message."

2 Canto VI, verse 35.

(The spot was) red, and round, the size of a plate
(it was) like blood,
(it was) in the very centre of the curtain
which shrouded the grave of Sultan Agung
of Mataram.

wus karsané Allah
ing tanah Djawa badéné
katah erah kang badé tumibèng lemah.

Genah rusak wus pinesti tekdiripun
tan kénging tinambak
lamun wus prapta tekdiré.[1]

So declared God and the ancestors. As Dipanegara had feared, there was to be a great and destructive war, but it had not been revealed if Dipanegara was to prosper by it. All he knew was that it was decreed by God that there was to be a war and it was his fate to be involved in it.

Djajamustapa returned home immediately and informed his master of the sign revealed to him. Dipanegara realised the full import of the sign and also its ambiguity. He had next to discover how he should fare in this impending war. Dipanegara, in Tjakranegara's eyes, had obviously begun to have designs on the kingship of Jogjakarta. He now wished to know whether he would be king.

As before, Dipanegara is made to seek the answer to his questionings by traditional means. He sent Djajamustapa on a second, more extensive mission. Djajamustapa's initial task was to journey to the town of

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1 Canto VI, verses 38 b-39 c.

It is already the will of Allah
that in the future of Java
much blood will be spilt on the earth.
For better or worse, his will has already been determined
it cannot be averted
if (your) fate has been decided.

Tjilatjap on the south coast of Central Java, there to seek the Djajakusuma flower which was reputed to grow on Nusakambangan, an island off the coast.

The name 'Djajakusuma' or 'Widjajakusuma' means 'flower of victory', and its possession is a portent of victory or success. According to tradition, the Djajakusuma flower had to be sought in Nusakambangan by claimants to the throne, but if the flower could not be found it was clear that the pretender's claims were not legitimate and his cause must fail.[1] The Babad Tanah Djawi records how Mangkurat II, king of Mataram, succeeded in finding a Djajakusuma flower. Mangkurat II, also known as Pangéran Adipati Anom (his official title as crown-prince), was the son of Mangkurat I, who left the kraton of Mataram in the year 1600 A.J. when the Madurese prince Trunadjaja invaded Java.[2] Mangkurat I died at Tegalwangi soon after his flight and Pangéran Adipati Anom succeeded to the throne of Mangkurat II. The Dutch decided to support his claims against those of Trunadjaja who was soon driven from the rebel capital of Kediri. Mangkurat II was then crowned at Kartasura. Nevertheless, he would seem to have been unsure of his position for the Babad Tanah Djawi records that he sent his servant Pranataka to search for the Widjajakusuma flower which would legitimize his position:

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[1] T. Roorda, 'Verhaal van de Oorsprong en het Begin van de opstand van Dipanegara'. BKI (1860), p.171.

[2] The significance of his attack in 1600 A.J. has been discussed above (Chapter II).

> Pranataka, you are to go to Donan or to the island Kambang. Seek the Widjajakusuma flower. Be sure to find it. Do not come back if you have not found it.[1]

Pranataka went to Nusakambangan and meditated for seven days and seven nights in the 'Mesdjid Watu' (Stone Mosque), the very place that Dipanegara's servants were to visit.[2] Here he found a pair of Djajakusuma flowers and having picked them returned to his master.[3] Mangkurat II was very pleased with this, for it had proved his kingship to be legitimate:

> The king was very happy, for he realized that his kingship would be prosperous.[4]

Mangkurat II did in fact have a prosperous reign from 1677-1703 A.D. Moreover he was to kill the rebel Trunadjaja with his own hands soon after obtaining the Djajakusuma, and in this way was seen to remove the only threat to his position.

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[1]W.L. Olthof, Babad Tanah Djawi (Jav. version), p.176.

[2]Dipanegara's servants visited the Stone Mosque, after they had failed to go to Nusakambangan where the Djajakusuma flower grew. In view of the fact that the Babad Tanah Djawi clearly states that the flower could be found at the Stone Mosque, it would seem that Tjakranegara was confused both about the tradition itself and the geography of the Tjilatjap-Nusakambangan region. For example he seems to call Nusakambangan by three different names: pulo Madjeṭi, Nini or Nini-Nini, and Brambang. Moreover from what he says in Canto VI one would assume that the Mesdjid Séla was not on Nusakambangan nor near it, principally because it cost much more to be ferried to Nusakambangan than to Mesdjid Séla. Yet the Babad Tanah Djawi story of Mangkurat II would seem to suggest that the Stone Mosque was in fact on Nusakambangan. The solution may be to accept that Tjakranegara was confused about the geography of the region and one should therefore ignore the difficulties outlined above. Tjakranegara's basic contention was that Dipanegara sought the Widjajakusuma in the area where it traditionally grew and failed to find it.

[3]W.L. Olthof, op.cit. (Jav. version), p.177.

[4]W.L. Olthof, op.cit. (Jav. version), p.177. 'Sang nata sakelangkoeng soeka, tjipta, jèn toeloes nggènipoen djoemeneng nata'.

Possession of the Djajakusuma flower was therefore important for any person wishing to embark on a prosperous and successful kingship, but it also seems to have had general application. For example in the wayang lakon Wisnu Krama,[1] Wisnu has to obtain a Djajakusuma flower before he can marry Déwi Pratiwi. Only he who finds this flower can have her hand. Wisnu obtains the flower on Mt Argadjati, but only after he has married the daughter of the seer who lives on the mountain. Another contender for Déwi Pratiwi's hand also obtains a Djajakusuma flower, but in his case it is to be found on the neck of a blue-coloured buffalo.[2]

Dipanegara's own search for the Djajakusuma flower is therefore part of a very old Javanese tradition. To find this flower was to achieve success, just as Mangkurat II achieved success. Not to find it was to realize that one's cause was doomed to failure.

Dipanegara gave further orders that if Djajamustapa could not obtain a Djajakusuma flower, he was to make a long pilgrimage to many places in Central Java to discover what in fact his fate would be. Djajamustapa was to visit Pasir, Gumelem, Mt Segara Windu, Tjahjana, Pekiringan, Lawet and other holy places. In all of these places Djajamustapa was to meditate and pray, beseeching God to reveal Dipanegara's role in the coming war. A number of persons

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1 J. Kats, 'Het Javaansche Tooneel', vol.I Wayang Poerwa, Volkslectuur, Weltevreden, 1923, pp.237-8.

2 The difficulty caused by both contenders finding the flower is solved in battle. Wisnu wins.

were assigned to accompany Djajamustapa including Djanodin, his son Abukasan and a holy man from the village of Gujangan, Kjai Mopid.

When eventually sent on their way by Dipanegara, the party travelled almost due west from the city of Jogjakarta, crossing wild and heavily forested country, until they came to the Seraju River. They crossed the river in a ferry, but they were most terrified to see a very large crocodile in the river:

Agengipun kang baja kelangkung-langkung
gigiré seklasa
sami trataban atiné
aningali dumateng baja kang ngambang.[1]

They reached the other side of the river safely and they quickly disembarked, obviously a little concerned at the sighting of this crocodile.

Was this a sign? The Babad Tanah Djawi records that Djaka Tingkir did battle with a crocodile army and, having defeated them, he forced them to send one crocodile a year as tribute. This episode has been interpreted as metaphorically describing a battle between Djaka Tingkir and the city of Surabaja, whose name ending in 'baja' is

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1 Canto VI, verse 57 i-iv.
The crocodile was very large
its back was as big as a mat
and they were scared in their hearts
seeing the floating crocodile.

reminiscent of the Javanese word for crocodile 'baja'.[1] The sighting of a crocodile on the Seraju River in South Central Java could hardly have a connection with Surabaja in East Java. It may well be that Tjakranegara may have introduced this encounter with the crocodile merely to add local colour or perhaps comic relief.

Having alighted from the boat on the other side of the river, the group continued their journey and soon came to the coastline which faces the island of Nusakambangan, some ten to fifteen miles from the mouth of the Seraju River. They followed the coastline, making for Tjilatjap. Suddenly they saw seven deer from the island coming down to the shore[2] and gambolling on the waves. When spotted by the pilgrims, the deer fled into the forest. This chance meeting with the seven deer is less easy to dismiss as insignificant than their earlier encounter with the crocodile. One is compelled to ask why were <u>seven</u> sighted and why were they deer? Did Tjakranegara intend that this be interpreted as a sign? The number seven has been accorded a great deal of significance and magical power by many cultures, being considered lucky and fortuitous. Deer also have been regarded as regal symbols, while the Buddha has been symbolized as a deer because his

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[1]This interpretation was pointed out by Professor Berg in seminars given at the A.N.U. in 1969.

[2]As one approaches Tjilajap the coast and the shoreline of Nusakambangan converge until there remains only a narrow channel between them. The author presumably meant that when the shoreline of the island came into view they happened to see these seven deer.

first sermon after attaining enlightenment was preached in the Deer Park at Benares. Thus the sighting of seven deer by the pilgrims may have been a fortuitous sign forecasting kingship for Dipanegara, but this interpretation is by no means sure and is unsupported by similar incidents in other Javanese historical works.

Late on the same day that they had sighted the seven deer, they arrived in Tjilatjap, which in those days was only a small village with few inhabitants:[1] 'Désa suwung wung aparek wana agung'.[2] Here they stayed the night in the home of the village head Kjai Resajuda and inquired of him the cost of travelling by boat first to the Mesdjid Séla (Stone Mosque)[3] and then to the island of Nusakambangan[4] where they intended to seek the Widjajakusuma flower.

Kjai Resajuda, to their chagrin, explained that the cost of travelling by boat to pulo Madjeṭi (Nusakambangan) was indeed expensive, costing 100 ringgits:

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[1]Tjilatjap under the Dutch developed into an important port and the most important centre on Java's South Coast. It is interesting to note that while Tjilatjap, as early as 1905 had approximately 16,000 inhabitants, in the middle of the nineteenth century it was only a small hamlet.

[2]'The village was inhabitated by few people, it was like a great forest.' Canto VI, verse 63 i.

[3]This is referred to as Nini-nini island and, as pointed out in an earlier note, the author seems to use a number of names for Nusakambangan including Nini-nini, though in fact two separate localities or islands are intended, i.e. Nusakambangan itself and a smaller island or possibly a rocky outcrop which is the 'Stone Mosque' they eventually visit instead of Nusakambangan.

[4]Nusakambangan is referred to as Madjeṭi island.

Jèn sampéjan arsa
pulo Madjeṭi pernahé
pan akaṭah puniku weragadira
satus ringgit mangké kula terken bagus
alampah baita
pulo Madjeṭi marginé
nenggih ladjeng ḍateng pulo Nini pisan. [1]

Djajamustapa did not have 100 ringgits to pay for the boat and as a result Dipanegara failed to obtain the Djajakusuma flower, the symbol of a legitimate claimant to the throne. There was no way for Djajamustapa to reach the island where this flower grew and thus Dipanegara's future as king was placed in extreme jeopardy.

Having failed to find the Djajakusuma flower, they sought to carry out Dipanegara's supplementary orders. They asked the cost of a journey by boat to the Mesdjid Séla and Resajuda informed them that this would cost only two rials. This they could afford, and so they departed for the Mesdjid Séla. They spent several days at this lonely holy place. First they cleared the interior of sand and grass and lit a fire. Each night they prayed and meditated in the cave and during the day they went out into the open. In their

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[1] Canto VI, verse 66 b-7 d.
If you want
to go to pulo Madjeṭi (Nusakambangan)
it will be very expensive
for one hundred ringgits I will take you there
by boat
to the island of Madjeṭi
and then even to the island of Nini.

prayers they asked that Mataram (Jogjakarta) prosper and that their master also be looked upon with favour:

> Aneneda mring Allah kang Mahasutji
> ardjané Mentaram
> sampun kawis-kawis
> djeng pangéran selameta.[1]

While ki Djanodin was asleep one night in the Stone Mosque, there came the sign that they all awaited. Dipanegara appeared to ki Djanodin in a dream, riding on the cow Gumarang. This beast was as big as a hill, but its feet were caught in the roots of a Balaran vine.[2] The cow however broke loose and quickly ran off carrying the prince with it.

Ki Djanodin awoke from his sleep and thought over the meaning of this sign. It was in fact a most ominous sign, intimating that Dipanegara was to be the cause of misery and destruction in Java. The cow Gumarang is a wajang figure connected with the rice myths of Déwi Sri and Prince Sedana. There are many variations of the Déwi Sri-Prince Sedana stories, but W.H. Rassers in his article, 'On the Meaning of Javanese Drama',[3] gives a precis of one story which is helpful for an understanding of Djanodin's dream:[4]

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[1]Canto VII, verse 9 i-iv.

> They prayed to God the All Pure
> they prayed for the prosperity of Mataram
> it was hoped
> that the prince may prosper.

[2]Canto VII, verse 11 i-iv.

[3]W.H. Rassers, 'On the Meaning of Javanese Drama', in '<u>Pañji, The Culture Hero</u>', The Hague, 1959, pp.1-63. See in particular pp.14-9.

[4]This story is summarised here in the author's own words.

Baṭara Guru in order to obtain the favours of the lovely Ken Tisnawati has been forced to fulfil three of her wishes. She desires a garment that will not wear out; food which, once eaten, satisfies for the rest of one's life; and the <u>gamelan keṭopjak</u>. Baṭara Guru calls on the demon Kala and his son Kala Gumarang to fulfil these demands. (It is interesting to note that the two demons are supposed to live on the island of Nusakambangan, while ki Djanodin dreams of the cow <u>Gumarang</u> in the Mesdjid Séla, presumably not far off from Nusakambangan).

The demon Kala Gumarang becomes arrogant as a result, and angers the gods who wish that he turn into an animal. He later meets Déwi Sri and begins to chase her. He meets Wisnu, the husband of Dewi Sri, and demands that he hand over his wife. Both Dewi Sri and Wisnu run off, chased by Kala Gumarang. Wisnu, three days later during the chase, confronts Kala Gumarang in a wood and fires arrows at him. At this Kala Gumarang becomes a pig.

In the meantime Ken Tisnawati has died and her body, returned to earth, has brought forth various agricultural products, including rice. In his animal form Kala Gumarang still pursues Dewi Sri and coming across the new rice-fields tramples them. To protect the rice Wisnu shoots at the pig and kills him, but from his blood proceed all kinds of insects and diseases which destroy the rice crop.

The soul of Kala Gumarang passes into the bodies of the ascetic Puṭut Djantaka's children, all of whom have the form of animals, including <u>a wild bull and a buffalo</u>. These animals also destroy the rice crop. Therefore the king of the country sends out his servants to kill the animals and are largely successful, but the wild bull and buffalo remain free. These too however are defeated <u>and they are tethered by their conquerors to a large tree</u>.

The two beasts thus subdued could well have been known as <u>lembu Gumarang</u> (the buffalo Gumarang) or the <u>sapi Gumarang</u> (cow Gumarang), because they had their origins in the soul of the demon Kala Gumarang. If this is so, the sapi Gumarang of the babad can be seen as identical with the beasts which sprang from the soul of the

demon killed by Wisnu. In this context it is important to note that the sapi Gumarang of the babad was tied down with the vine of a balaran tree. In the same way, the bull and buffalo of the rice myth were tethered by their conquerors. This striking similarity of detail strongly suggests that the cow Gumarang ridden by Dipanegara and the rampaging beasts of the rice myth are identical.

What therefore is the significance of Ki Djanodin's dream? It is suggested that the beast's breaking loose and escaping with Dipanegara on its back is most probably a prophecy that Dipanegara, in releasing the beast, would be a destructive force in Java, just as Kala Gumarang and sapi Gumarang were destructive of the rice crop as they chased after Déwi Sri. This interpretation accords with the other ominous signs that were to be revealed as the servants of Dipanegara continued their journey.

Having received this sign at the Mesdjid Séla, the next day they all returned to the mainland and journeyed northwards to Pasir. Thereafter they visited all the holy places their master had ordered them to visit, all the time praying for the prosperity of Mataram:

> Kang tineḍa ardjané nagri Mentawis
> hajwa kongsi rusak.

Their prayers may well have been more earnest now in view of the ominous pattern that had already begun to emerge.

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1 Canto VII, verse 20 a-b: 'They prayed for the prosperity of Mataram; and that it should not be destroyed.'

They spent one night on a mountain called Segara Windu and here a great and terrifying storm descended on them. All during the night, wind, rain, cold and the mountain spirits assailed them.[1] Was this also a sign of impending doom?

At Pekiringan the pilgrims spent the night at the burial place of the wali Prakosa:[2]

Kawarnaa semana lampahé prapti
nenepi kuburan
sawengi makamé wali
kang arannja wali Prakosa.[3]

Here they meditated and made penance during the night and again a sign was revealed to them. The wind tore down the curtain surrounding the grave and bore it away.

At Tjahjana they also spent one night in meditation at a graveside and again the curtain surrounding the burial place had disappeared by morning. These signs all troubled Ki Mopid and Djajamustapa:

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1 Canto VII, verses 21-4.

2 The walis are reputed to be the Muslim teachers who first spread Islam in Java. Their burial places are important pilgrimage spots and Javanese believe that by sleeping at such burial places, one can obtain great favours from the wali buried there. It is only natural that Dipanegara's envoys should stop there.

3 Canto VII, verse 26 i-iv.
It is described how they arrived
and did penance at the grave
one night (they spent) at the burial place of the wali
called wali Prakosa.

Duk semana Djajamustapa lan Mopid
langkung susahira
sesmita datan ngénaki
deladjat negri Mentaram.

Kaja-kaja negara Mentaram iki
harep karusakan
djalarané apa béndjing
rusaké nagri Mentaram.[1]

All the signs pointed to the imminent destruction of Mataram (Jogja). The following day they climbed Mt Lawet and spent the day there praying. They were soon to be rewarded with yet another sign. The curtain surrounding the burial place on this mountain also disappeared as before, but here a ravine opened up and part of the mountain collapsed into the ravine. Thus the sign from the wali buried there agreed with the spectacular sign sent by God and revealed by the destruction of the mountain, Mataram was to be destroyed. Ki Mopid and Djajamustapa in discussing the significance of all these signs were most disturbed by their ominous portents but nevertheless recognized that if this was the will of God then no human could avert it. They exclaimed 'Wit ora,

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1 Canto VII, verses 29-30.

At that time Djajamustapa and ki Mopid
were very disturbed
there was an omen which was bad
as far as the power of Mataram was concerned.

It seems as if Mataram
will be destroyed
what should be the reason
that Mataram will be destroyed.

maring ora', [1] meaning we humans originate from nothing through the goodness of God, and we cannot avert the will of God that we should go to dust. It is the plaintive cry of those who are helpless to avoid the future fraught with destruction.

The pilgrims, having visited the two mountains Merapi and Merbabu, made their way home to Tegalredja. Drawing near to Tegalredja one evening, they were compelled to spend the night in the mosque at Kuwaron rather than travel at night. Here ki Mopid received another sign in a dream. The ancient seer ki Gedé ing Séla (Ki Ageng Séla) appeared to him in a dream and gave him a warning which was to be transmitted to his master:

Dipanegara bésuk
meksa arep amurwèng urip
ngrata agama sarak
djinurung Al-Sabur
sinung rahmat ingkang Mulja
nanging ana béka rentjanané béndjing
sisip sembir wruh bakal

jén sumimpang ing patang prakawis
hudjubrija tekabur sumengah
pesti lulusé karepé
jèn adoh saking iku
lamun nradjang patang prakawis

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[1] Canto VIII, verse 2 j.

rahmat hidajat benggang
wangsul wahjunipun.[1]

In this prophecy Ki Gedé ing Séla first stated that it was God's will that Dipanegara should be king and that as king he would spread the Islamic religion and its law in Java. Nevertheless God's blessings on Dipanegara would be withdrawn if at any time in the future Dipanegara should give way to conceit, vanity and recklessness.

In some ways this particular sign seems to contradict the basic theme of all the previous signs which overwhelmingly had declared that Dipanegara was not to be king, because he had failed to find the Djajakusuma flower and secondly that Dipanegara was to instigate a great war which would devastate the whole of Java. Now Ki Gedé ing Séla would seem to be saying that all was not lost for Dipanegara if he retained the humility he had already been noted for.

Yet this also is an ominous sign for Dipanegara. It is in fact Tjakranegara's method of disposing of Dipanegara's claims to the Jogja throne and also of explaining the prince's failure in the war. Tjakranegara later shows that

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1 Canto VIII, verses 10 iv - 11 viii.

'Dipanegara in the future will have decision over life (and death); he will spread (the Islamic) religion and the Sjariah law; he will be assisted by God; and he will be given the blessings of the Blessed One;
But there will be a difficulty later on; I see a risk in the future;
If he avoids these FOUR things: recklessness, pride and conceit (only three are quoted) He will succeed in his efforts.
If he strays from this path, if he falls prey to these four things, the Blessings and the Guidance of God will disappear, nay the Light of God will disappear.

in proclaiming himself Sultan at Silarong at the insistence of Kjai Madja, Dipanegara neglected the advice of Ki Ageng Séla, succumbing as he did to the vain attraction of the title of Sultan.[1] God's blessings were accordingly withdrawn from Dipanegara and thus his cause was doomed. The reader is left to assume that Tjakranegara was well aware of this and thus thought it wise to fight with the Dutch.

The morning after Ki Mopid's dream, the group set out and arrived at Tegalredja at noon. They immediately reported to Dipanegara that all his orders had been duly carried out. They conveyed the various signs that they had seen and explained their significance. They also had to report that they had been unable to obtain the Djajakusuma flower. Dipanegara quietly accepted the signs and their ominous portents, affirming that if he was to be the cause of destruction in the kingdom, then this was God's will and no man could avert it:

> Lamun kaja mengkonoa
> pralambang kang ḍawuh
> ija negara Mentaram
> hura-huru djalaran saking ing mami
> terus karsaning Allah.[2]

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1 T. Roorda, 'Verhaal van de oorsprong en het Begin van de Opstand van Dipanegara', BKI (1860), p.196.

2 Canto VIII, verse 15 vi-ix.

> If that is the case with the predictions which have come (i.e. they have all been bad), that is to say that the state of Mataram will fall into confusion and disarray because of me, then that is the will of God.

The message of Ki Gedé ing Séla was repeated to Dipanegara by a mysterious voice as he sat meditating on the signs that had been revealed to his servants. This reinforced in Dipanegara's mind the warning that his kingship would not succeed if he gave way to conceit and vanity.

In this way Tjakranegara concludes his lengthy account of the signs revealed to Dipanegara before the outbreak of war. The whole episode is undoubtedly a fiction created by the author for his own ends, for the events recorded by him are not to be found anywhere else, in particular in the autobiography of Dipanegara. Whether fiction or not, this episode plays a most important part in Tjakranegara's babad. It is a resort to traditional magical means to explain post-eventum, Dipanegara's failure in the Java War, by showing that before the war had even begun his failure and the war itself had been predestined by God. It is also a means for Tjakranegara explaining his participation in the war on the side of the Dutch even though he obviously respected Dipanegara very much indeed, as one can gauge from the rest of his babad. In this respect it is important to note Tjakranegara's anti-Dipanegara stand in his narration of the journeying after signs. It has been generally assumed that he was wholly partial to Dipanegara, however it is clear that for largely personal motives he was prepared to question Dipanegara's actions by traditional means.

Dipanegara in his autobiography also relates how he received various signs from God. He does not claim to have sent his servants in search of signs. He claims to have

received himself all the signs revealed to him. More significantly, these signs generally do not accord with those enumerated by Tjakranegara and they are nearly all propitious. For Dipanegara, the heavens foretold his kingship. When he was still a baby his great-grandfather took him in his arms and stated that this child would one day be a king, and greater than he.

However a warning in some ways similar to that allegedly delivered by Ki Gedé ing Séla in the Tjakranegara account, is also to be found in the autobiography. From Sunan Kali appearing before him one night as he fasted in a cave, Dipanegara claims to have received this prophecy:

> hèh Ngabdurahim sirèku
> wus pinasti hjang Suksma
> lamun sira iku béndjang
> dadi ratu ngérang-érang nuli musna.[1]

This enigmatic warning in Dipanegara's autobiography would seem to have some connection with the pattern of signs elaborated in Tjakranegara's babad. But it would seem to be the only point of similarity.

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[1] Pangéran Dipanegara, '<u>Babad Dipanegara pijambak</u>' (ed. Rusche), 2 vols., Surakarta, 1908-9. Vol.I, p.2.

> hèh Ngabdurahim
> it has been determined by God
> that if in the future
> as king you are humiliated, then
> you will perish.

Sunan Kali(-djaga) is a famous legendary saint, popularly linked with the introduction of Islam to Java. During his pilgrimages and fasts, Dipanegara took an Arabic name, either Ngabdurahim or, later on, Ngabdulkamid. P.J. Louw, op.cit., vol.I, p.92, has quite a different translation for what must be the same passage. There Louw has read '<u>ratu ngérang-érang</u>' as '<u>ratu hiring</u>'. The difference may result from different MSS. having been used.

Dipanegara also relates that he went to Imagiri, the burial place of Sultan Agung and the Mataram dynasty, and here he meditated at the junction of the Opak and Oja rivers. Here the guardian of the Mataram dynasty the queen of the Southern Ocean, Njai Rara Kidul, visited Dipanegara and offered him assistance for the fulfilment of his ambitions, just as she had offered to help Sénapati, the founder of Mataram. Sénapati, like Dipanegara, had journeyed to the shores of the Southern Ocean and he began to pray at the mouth of the Opak river, but the power of his prayers upset the balance of nature and the sea was greatly disturbed. Therefore Njai Rara Kidul, protectress of the ocean, granted all his wishes, prophesying greatness for him and his descendants: 'You and your descendants shall surely all be kings and rule over Java and you shall have no equals.'[1]

Dipanegara most certainly thought of himself as a descendant of the Mataram dynasty and as one who had a right to share in the fame and fortune of that line. For this reason he records that he too encountered Njai Rara Kidul:

> Djeng Ratu Kidul wus prapta
> nèng arsa Sèh Ngabdurahim
> mapan paḍang djroning guwa
> ing djeng Ratu wus udani
> lamun Sèh Ngabdurahim
> lagi suwung tjipatanipun
> datan kénging ginoḍa

1 W.L. Olthof, 'Babad Tanah Djawi', p.78.

dadya umatur ubanggi
lamun béndjang tekèng masa badé prapta.[1]

Like several kings of Mataram before him,[2] Dipanegara also received the royal lustre which is the symbol of all legitimate kings. One day he was sitting meditating when from the heavens came a bolt of lightning, which then stuck in a rock. This was the arrow called Sarutama, or excellent arrow, and Dipanegara had it fashioned into a kris.[3] In this way Dipanegara claimed for himself the receipt of the royal lustre. Every legitimate king should possess it in some form or other, and it is only to be expected that Dipanegara should make such a claim.

The autobiography also records that during one of his pilgrimages Dipanegara was acclaimed by the Ratu Adil, the traditional Javanese Messiah. Dipanegara was later to take on himself the title Erutjakra which belongs to the Messiah, but at this stage he was supposed to have merely accepted the armies of the Messiah:

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1 Rusche, op.cit., vol.I, p.4.

Ratu Kidul came
before Sèh Ngabdurahim (Dipanegara)
it was bright in the cave
the Queen knew
that Sèh Ngabdurahim
was deeply involved in his thoughts
and he could not be disturbed
then she said
that when the time came, she would come.

2 In particular Pangéran Puger (later Pakubuwana I) who received the royal lustre in the form of a tip of light on the penis of his dead predecessor, Amangkurat I. See <u>Babad Tanah Djawi</u> (Jav. version), p.260 and S. Moertono, 'State and Statecraft in Old Java', 1968, pp.56-9.

> He spoke: "Hear me, Ngabdulkamid! I have brought you here to tell you that you must lead my entire army into battle. Conquer Java with it."[1]

Though Tjakranegara makes no mention of the Messiah except in connection with Dipanegara's title when proclaimed Sultan, it is important to note that Dipanegara showed a great deal more interest in it. Finally Dipanegara claims that it was God who proclaimed him Sultan, even before the war had begun. How different an interpretation is this from that put forward by Tjakranegara. The autobiography states:

> The Prince was sitting under a banyan tree, after the midday prayer, about half-past three, in the garden called Modang when he heard from the distance a clear voice which called out to him: "Listen Ngabdulkamid! God Almighty bestows on you from now on the name of Sultan Ngabdulkamid Erutjakra Sajidin Panatagama Djawa Chalifat Rasulullah."[2]

The signs purported to be seen by Dipanegara vary quite radically between the babad of Tjakranegara and Dipanegara's autobiography. Their very significance is made to vary. Dipanegara himself claims to have been revealed only fortuitous signs. Tjakranegara on the contrary suggests by means of a number of traditional symbols that the Java War was inevitable and that Dipanegara's defeat in the war had been foretold. This striking difference reflects the different motives and prejudices of the authors and it also demonstrates the need to be aware not only of such prejudices, but also the traditional and often enigmatic way in which they can be expressed in Javanese historiography.

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[1] P.J.F. Louw, op.cit., vol.I, p.131.

[2] P.J.F. Louw, op.cit., vol.I, p.136.

CHAPTER IV

DIPANEGARA'S SOURCES OF SUPPORT

Tjakranegara states that immediately prior to the outbreak of war, many people flocked to the support of Dipanegara, from all classes of society, from the villages and from the capital:

> Dalu kaṭah djalma prapti
> désa mjang pradja[1]

It is important to investigate the sources of this support, and to assess what charisma Dipanegara held for these Javanese from all sections of Jogja society. Two aspects are suggested as a partial answer. In Part A of this chapter possible reactions to Dipanegara's devotion to Islam, and in Part B the possible impact of Javanese messianic traditions are examined.

A Dipanegara and Islam

In Tjakranegara's depiction of Dipanegara's life-style, the Islamic religion and its mystical school, Sufism, emerge as the most important single element. This aspect was not often properly appreciated by Dutch scholars, for the Dutch had much to fear from the uniting power of Islam within the archipelago. Thus Dipanegara's devotion to Islam has been dismissed by some European commentators as fanaticism and a

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1 Canto IX, 9, e-f.
At night many people came
from the villages and the capital.

weakness.[1] Tjakranegara on the contrary provides a sympathetic view of Dipanegara's religiosity and it is for us to explore the Javanese view of and reactions to this aspect of Dipanegara's character.

Unlike most of the princes and high officials of Jogjakarta, Dipanegara led a very simple life. Having wholeheartedly accepted the Islamic religion, he turned all his energies to the problem of salvation in the hereafter and the absolution of sin. He became obsessed with death and man's helplessness in the face of his sinful nature:

'Amung kang késṭi wardaja
ing bésuk jèn ingsun mati
adja nganti géndong dosa
jèn tjilaka djroning pati
sapa ingkang nulungi
ana ing neraka bésuk
siksané tumpa-tumpa'[2]

Convinced he was carrying a great burden of sins, Dipanegara set about whittling them away by performing acts of piety and by constant prayer and meditation. He avoided licentiousness, lived an ascetic life, fasted and made frequent gifts to the poor.

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[1] For example, see P.H. van der Kemp, 'Dipanegara, een Geschiedkundige Hamlettype', BKI (1896), pp.283-433.

[2] Canto III, v.5.

'The only thing I desire in my heart
is that if, in the future, I die
may I not carry a burden of sins
for if I do when I die
who can help me?
in hell later on
the torments will pile up.

The desire for a simple ascetic life was an ideal of the Sufis, the mystics of Islam.[1] They believed that only by eschewing wealth and wordly things could one attain the eternal fruit of Gnosis or knowledge of God. The story of Ibrahim bin Adham, one of the earliest Sufi ascetics, shows how this prince abandoned the world when God warned him of its falseness:

> 'My father was of Balkh,' Ibrahim bin Adham is reported to have said, 'and he was one of the kings of Khorasan. One day I was out riding with my dog, when a hare or a fox started. I pricked on my horse; then I heard a voice behind me saying, 'It was not for this thou wast created: it was not this thou was charged to do.' ..... I stopped and said, 'I have been roused! A warning has come to me from the Lord of the Worlds. Verily, I will not disobey God from this day on.' Then I returned to my people, and abandoned my horse; I came to one of my father's shepherds, and took his robe and cloak, and put my raiment upon him.[2]

Tjakranegara describes how closely Dipanegara conformed to the Sufi ascetic ideal. When fasting, for example, he ate only once every two months.[3] Moreover he visited his wives in the harem on Thursdays only, and if one can judge

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1 The Sufis were the mystical school of Islam which developed under the influence of Christian, Indian and Persian mystical beliefs. Their principal goal was personal knowledge of God through meditation and through the heart. See R.A. Nicholson, 'The Mystics of Islam', and A.J. Arberry, 'Sufism', London, 1963. For Sufism in Java see: A.H. Johns, 'Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History', Journal of Southeast Asian History, vol.II, July 1961; and C. Geertz, 'The Religion of Java', Glencoe, 1960.

2 A.J. Arberry, 'Sufism', London, 1950, p.36.

3 Canto III, verse 4.

from the complaints of one of his wives, he abstained from sexual intercourse even then.[1]

For the Sufi mystic, asceticism was no more than a preparatory stage before one could properly turn to mystical and spiritual exercises. Dipanegara also did not restrict himself to outward displays of piety, but also involved himself deeply in prayer, meditation and mystical regimens. Dipanegara was accustomed to meditate in the open, sitting on the _Watu Gegilang_,[2] or in one of the many caves he visited in the region of Jogja. Here he performed the _ojrat_ technique of mysticism:

> Pangéran Dipanegara
> tan pegat amangun téki
> ing guwa Silarong gonnja
> winangun dèn busanani
> sri kinarja nenepi
> pangéran ngodjrat nèng ngriku
> pangran karem tirakat.[3]

This form of meditation involved long periods of silent reflection, the rapid repetition of prayers and exhortations,

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1 Canto IV, verses 41-5.

2 A large flat stone capable of seating a man. _Sénapati_ also meditated on a stone called _Gegilang_.

3 Canto III, verse 1.
Prince Dipanegara
unceasingly performed penance
in the cave at Silarong
it had been improved and decorated
it was made suitable for meditation
the Prince performed _ojrat_ in there
the Prince was fond of asceticism.

such as 'Allahu Akbar!' (God is Great), and readings from the Kur'an and other works by mystics and Muslim scholars. Tjakranegara emphasises again and again that meditation was a constant joy to the prince.

Dipanegara was very familiar with the Kur'an. It is related how on a visit to the Upas cave, Dipanegara was impressed with the glory of the Creation when he came across a chill, limpid stream in the centre of the cave. He therefore had his servant read the Ya Sin Surah which praises the beauty of the Creation, but which also warns of God's destruction:

> Alas for My bondsmen! They laugh to scorn every apostle that comes to them. Do they not see how many generations we have destroyed before them? Never shall they return to them: all shall be brought before Us.
>
> Let the once-dead earth be a sign to them. We gave it life, and from it produced grain for their sustenance. We planted it with the palm and the vine, and watered it with gushing springs...
>
> We have taught Mohammed no poetry, nor does it become him to be a poet. This is but a warning: an eloquent Kur'an to admonish the living and to pass judgement on the unbelievers.[1]

Every night the Kur'an was read by Dipanegara and he would also have it read to him by his servants during the day:

> Pangéran Dipanegara
>
> lamun dalu matja Kur'an sang pekik
>
> mung tiga djus wangenipun

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1 Ya Sin Surah. N.J. Dawood (trans.), 'The Koran', Penguin Books, 1959 ed., pp.170-3. This was a sober message for the unbelieving court of Jogja.

nimbali dasihé éndjang
kinumpulan sagungé kang sepuh-sepuh
kapan kinèn matja Kur'an
sami ndarus ganti-ganti.[1]

Dipanegara's reading was not restricted to the Kur'an. He was familiar with many Islamic works originating from the Middle East and India. Dipanegara's servants would read to him from books on law, or from the Anbija, the 'Lives of the Prophets'. They would read Sufi works on gnosis (makripat) and mysticism (tasawup). There were didactic books about the good and bad kings of Arabia and Syria, and Dipanegara drew many lessons from the tales of evil kings in the 'Fatah-ul-Muluk' (Victory of Kings).[2] The traditional works of Javanese literature with their Hindu gods and heroes and non-Islamic philosophy were also studied. Dipanegara often called upon his servants to read from the Ardjunawidjaja, Serat Rama, Ardjunawiwaha and the Bomantaka.[3] The reading of these works was a constant task. Each month the books were changed so that the prince did not become bored.

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[1]Canto IV, verse 32.
Prince Dipanegara
would read the Kur'an at night
three chapters were his limit
in the morning he would summon his servants
and all the elders were gathered together
then they were ordered to read the Kur'an
and they each read in turn.

[2]The lessons were for the benefit of Dipanegara's irreligious and immoral brother Djarot. See Canto III, verses 41-55.

[3]For Dipanegara's reading tastes, see Canto IV, verses 32-9.

Dipanegara spent much of his time at Tegalredja, not far from Jogja, and at another of his estates, Sélaradja, to the east of Tegalredja. However he frequently gave up his reading and prayer in the relative comfort of his various residences, and he went out on pilgrimages, dressed in simple clothes, in order to perform more severe acts of penance. Tjakranegara relates how these pilgrimages took him to lonely places such as the South Coast and the Southern Mountains, or to caves 'far from home':

> Kèndel dènnja sami matja
> djeng pangéran tirakat mring pasisir
> Pemantjingan kang djinudjug
> munggah marang aldaka
> Gunung Kidul Balimbing Palijan iku
> Sampar lawan ing Wulusan
> tanapi ing gunung Giri,
> lan guwa kang adoh omah
> sarupané kang ageng lan kang alit.[1]

Dipanegara also made frequent pilgrimages to caves in the vicinity of Jogjakarta. Tjakranegara relates that he visited the Sura Lanang cave, situated in the Southern

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1 Canto IV, verses 39 a - 40 b.

> They would all cease reading
> and the prince would go to do penance on the coast
> there he would go to Pemantjingan
> and to Aldaka
> the Southern Mountains, Balimbing and Palijan
> to Sampar and to Wulusan
> and to the Giri mountain (Imagiri)
> and to caves which were far from home
> both big and small.

Mountains,[1] the Suleman cave,[2] the Upas cave, west of the Praga river,[3] and the famous cave at Silarong where Dipanegara was to declare himself Sultan.[4]

Dipanegara's pilgrimages and his meditation in caves accord with the Sufi ideal of fleeing from the world and worldliness by wandering in the desert. Like Ibrahim bin Adham who 'went towards Iraq, wandering from land to land',[5] Sufis wearing their simple habits of wool went out from their homes and wandered over the Islamic world in their search for the spiritual realization of God. It has already been pointed out that Dipanegara's austerity and many of his religious practices and forms of mystical meditation seem to have been derived from Sufi practice, and this desire to wander about and live in caves accords equally well with Sufi doctrine. Thus it would seem that Dipanegara, like many other Javanese Muslims, was a follower of one of the Sufi orders and practiced the tenets of the mystical school of Islam.

It was the renowned devotion to Islam and Sufi mysticism that won for Dipanegara the support of that section of the population of Jogjakarta wholeheartedly

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[1] Canto III, verse 2 e-f.

[2] Canto III, verse 2 a.

[3] Canto III, verses 9-28.

[4] Canto III, verse 1; Canto IV, verses 1-4.

[5] A.J. Arberry, op.cit., p.36.

devoted to Islam. In his study of a twentieth century Central Javanese town, Clifford Geertz[1] was able to identify three distinct socio-religious groupings in Javanese society. These he named the santri, abangan and prijaji groups. The santri group were strict followers of the Islamic faith. The abangan element were nominal Muslims but still adhered to customary beliefs and practices, many of which were pre-Islamic or pre-Hindu. The prijaji were the elite bureacracy descended from the Javanese nobility. They adhered to the Hindu-Javanese tradition though they also were nominally Muslim. Javanese society has in all probability displayed the same divisions since the introduction of Islam. It is not difficult to discern them in Jogjakarta society as portrayed by Tjakranegara. Dipanegara associated almost exclusively with the santri element, and they in turn looked to Dipanegara as the leader of the Islamic community. Many came to consider him as the Chief of Religion, a title normally reserved for the king. When the pangulu (chief) of the Islamic community, Rahmanudin, was replaced on the orders of the enemies of Dipanegara in the name of Sultan Menol, many of the Islamic scholars and lawyers refused to recognize the validity of new appointment.[2] In this they were encouraged by Dipanegara and his reading of the law books.[3] This dilemma

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[1]C. Geertz, op.cit., Glencoe, 1960.

[2]The incident of the Pangulu is dealt with at length in Canto V. See Summary.

[3]Canto V, verses 9-10.

was eventually resolved by Dipanegara being regarded as king and chief of religion, and it was Dipanegara who affirmed the appointment of the new pangulu, Kamalodiningrat, and not his nephew who was supposedly king. Thus around Dipanegara there polarized a clique which was strongly Islamic and which also sought the extension of Muslim ethics throughout the court and kingdom. Dipanegara was, as has been shown, inclined to the Islamic faith and was devoted to it. This incidentally won him the support of one of the most important groupings within Jogja society, when the time came for him to rise against the court. For this santri group, the Java War may well have been a holy war against all unbelievers, Dutch and Javanese alike.

Though Dipanegara's devotion to Islam must be seen first of all for the honest piety that it was, one must also take account of a second role such devotion could have played when viewed in the context of traditional Javanese politico-religious theory. Non-santri elements in Jogja society in the nineteenth century still believed in spirits, protective gods and goddesses, invulnerability, divine intervention and the ability of mortal men to obtain supernatural powers and win success through tapa (asceticism and meditation). Dipanegara's love of meditation in seclusion, his pilgrimages to caves and mountains, and his religious zeal can therefore be seen in a traditional and non-Islamic light. According to traditional Javanese beliefs the rebel in Java was a man who had to be possessed of great

supernatural powers so as to ensure victory and gain invulnerability for his supporters. This power was won by religious devotion:

> The felt need for inner strength and unquestionably also for magical powers (especially invulnerability) made it natural that in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries the initiative to revolt should most often be in the hands of gurus and kyais, men who by virtue of their religious life had already acquired the reputation for possessing supernatural or at least more than human capacities.[1]

Javanese history records how many aspirants to the throne avoided the capital and by meditating in caves and forests gained the power to seize the throne.[2]

Moreover the Southern coast of Java has important mystical connotations for the Mataram dynasty. It was on the shores of the Southern (Indian) Ocean that Sénapati himself meditated with such vigour that he won the protection of Njai Rara Kidul, the spirit queen of the Southern Ocean. In marrying her, Sénapati also enlisted her support for his descendants. Each king of Mataram and each pretender to the throne had in turn to seek her approval and, having gained it, marry her. Thus the kings of Mataram were assumed to have two kratons, one in the capital and one on the shores of the Southern Ocean where they resided with Njai Rara Kidul. Dipanegara's pilgrimages to the Southern Ocean, as described by Tjakranegara, could therefore be seen as his courting of Njai Rara Kidul in order to gain her favours

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1 S. Moertono, op.cit., p.80.

2 e.g. Airlangga; see also Moertono, op.cit., pp.79-80.

prior to his rebellion, so that with the help of her armies of spirits, it would succeed. Though Tjakranegara in his account of Dipanegara's pilgrimages to the Southern Mountains and the shore of the Southern Ocean, does not mention the intervention of Njai Rara Kidul, Dipanegara in his autobiographical babad not only describes a meeting with this lady, but also relates how she bestowed her blessings on his future kingdom in Java.[1] Tjakranegara prefers to signal Dipanegara's prospects for kingship with signs much less propitious than intervention by Njai Rara Kidul. However the stories which must have circulated in Jogjakarta in the years before the outbreak of war regarding Dipanegara's wanderings, where before him Sénapati had met and won the favour of the future protectress of his dynasty, must surely have signalled to many Javanese still influenced by the old beliefs that Dipanegara was preparing himself for rebellion in a time honoured way. He may in this manner have won the support of many abangan Javanese who looked on him as the one well prepared with magical powers and invulnerability for the task of rebellion, as one who had properly courted his potential protectress, and even as the true Messiah, the true Erutjakra. The additional aspect of Dipanegara's pretensions to Messiah-hood are examined in the next section, but it is sufficient to state here that Dipanegara's devotion to religion as portrayed in our Javanese source may well have won support for his cause from outside the Islamic community and particularly among the superstitious and tradition-minded peasantry.

[1] S. Moertono, op.cit., p.64.

B Dipanegara and Javanese Messianic Traditions

The yearning for a Messiah is common to many peoples. In times of war, famine and disorder, when it would seem that the world is soon to end, prophets inevitably appear proclaiming the imminent arrival of the Messiah. At his arrival, the Messiah is to save the virtuous from the horrors of the final destruction of the world, and restore to them the 'golden age' our ancient forebears once enjoyed.

The concept of the Messiah is familiar to Christians through the prophecies concerning the second coming of Christ. From the earliest days of the Church, Christians have looked for the imminent return of Christ to his earthly kingdom. Muslims also have their Messiah, who is called the Mahdī.[1] The word Mahdī means 'guided one', and Muslims believe that the Mahdī, having disappeared circa 880 A.D., will one day come again to save the faithful. Mahdī's have appeared in many countries, including the Sudan.[2] Though the belief in the Mahdī is particularly strong in the Shi'a sect of Islam, it is also widely held amongst Sunnis, the orthodox sect of Islam.

Amongst the Javanese, Messianic expectations have been particularly popular. The Javanese Messiah is known by

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1 In the following pages many references will be made to Islamic Messianic traditions. See further, A. Guillaume, '<u>Islam</u>', 1966, pp.117, 120-1; Drewes, '<u>Drie Javaansche Goeroe's</u>', 1925, pp.168-88; S. Hurgronje, '<u>Verspreide Geschriften</u>', 1923, vol.I, essay III.

2 e.g. the 'Mad Mahdi' who defeated General Gordon at Khartoum.

many names - in recent times the Messiah has been called the Ratu Adil, or 'Just King'. However, he has also been known under the names of Erutjakra, Si Tundjung Putih, Prabu Asmarakingking and even the Mahdī. Since the seventeenth century (and perhaps before) the indigenous messianic traditions surrounding the Ratu Adil have considerably augmented the amount of support dissident princes have rallied from among the populace. Prince Dipanegara sought popular support by claiming to be the Messiah. He was however only the last of several princes who took up arms against Mataram, claiming to be the Messiah, the bringer of the golden age.

Hindu and Buddhist messianic traditions have played a large part in the moulding of the Javanese traditions. From Sanskrit works such as the Puranas,[1] Javanese became familiar with and adopted into their own world view, the Hindu theory of the ages of the world and its final destruction. Indian philosophies generally held that the universe is alternately in a state of being or non-being. When the universe is first created, it is at its apogee. From that time on, however, it moves inexorably and by degrees towards its final destruction. At the destruction of the Universe begins an equal period of non-existence, until once again the Universe is created in exactly the same form as before. This alternation of equal periods of

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1 See J. Dowson, 'A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion', London, 1957.

existence and non-existence was portrayed in mythology as days and nights in the life of the supreme god, Brahma. When he slept, the world slept. With him, creation awoke.[1]

Within the periods of existence there were four distinct ages or yugas. Each was shorter and less desirable than the preceding yuga. The four ages were, in chronological order, the kṛta or golden age, the tṛta, dvāpara and kali yugas. It is the kali-yuga, the worst of all four, in which we live at the moment. According to Hindu theorists writing as early as the beginning of the Christian era, one could already see signs of the imminent destruction of the universe which is due to follow the end of the kali-yuga. For example no one obeys the caste laws. Depravity is rife. Warfare, famine, disease are all too common.

Though the kings of today are not the kings of yore, yet a good and strong king could, for a moment, arrest the decline towards destruction and reinstitute a semblance of the golden age:

> For he was clear-sighted as to the difficulties of protecting the world, such as it ought to be carried out in the age of Kali; he held firm to esoteric ceremonies and religious observances, firmly adhering to the Buddhist church, so as to imitate the honoured kings of the past, in order to consolidate the prosperity of the world.'[2]

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[1]The days and nights of Brahma were constituted by hundreds of thousands of human years.

[2]From the Nagarakṛtāgama, Canto 42, verse 3 b-d, trans. from Pigeaud, 'Java in the 14th Century', 1960, vol.III, p.48.

A bad king on the other hand merely hastened the ultimate calamity and brought misery to his people:

> In the event of the king being intoxicated there arise grave evils: unrighteousness leading to admixture of the castes grows in extent: there is cold in the hot season and vice versa: there is drought as well as heavy rain: diseases overtake the people: comets make their approach, inauspicious planets are seen and various evil omens portending the king's destruction are visible.[1]

For the Hindu, destruction was inevitable even for the gods, but rebirth and regeneration were likewise inevitable. Just as there was the night of Brahma, so must there be the day of Brahma. Life and history therefore consisted of a never-ending sequence of 'rebirth and regeneration - decay - destruction - non-existence - rebirth - decay - destruction.'

These Hindu and Buddhist concepts were current in Java for a considerable time, and may well have been introduced during the earliest influx of Indian thought into Java. As direct contact with Hindu and Buddhist states in India and Southeast Asia became more difficult as a result of Muslim and European incursions into the area, and as Islam became more powerful in Java itself, these purely Hindu (and Buddhist) concepts no longer remained in currency in Java. They did nevertheless influence the later indigenous developments. For example the purely Javanese pralambangs (predictions) retain the Indian terminology for the four

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1 B. Schrieke, 'Indonesian Sociological Studies', Part II, p.88. This passage derives ultimately from the Mahābhārata. See 'Signs and Portents' for a detailed examination of the signs and omens which preceded the downfall of a king.

ages of the world (the yugas).[1] One of the names of the Messiah, Erutjakra, may also prove to be derived from the name Vairocana, one of the dhyani-buddhas of Mahayana Buddhism.[2] Moreover the Javanese seem to have transposed into their picture of history several of the Hindu concepts of time and history mentioned above.

Popular Javanese historical tradition, as epitomized by the pralambangs, holds that each kingdom of Java, past, present and future, can last only a set number of years, either 100, 80, 64 or 35 years. Despite the variation, the principle was always recognized that a kingdom had a set period of existence allotted to it. The end of one kingdom and the beginning of the next was sometimes set for the turn of a century. Thus in one version of the pralambangs, the kingdoms of Mataram, Padjang II (Surakarta), the kingdoms of the first Messiah, Tandjung Putih, and of the second, Erutjakra, began in the years 1500, 1600, 1700 and 1800 A.J.[3] respectively, but only after the previous kingdom had demised.[4] Thus a king knowing that his kingdom was about to end would often depart from his capital to make way for his usurper-successor.[5]

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1 Drewes, op.cit., pp.164-8.

2 The derivation of Erutjakra is discussed at length below.

3 A.J. = Anno Javani, i.e. the Javanese calendar.

4 See Wiselius, op.cit., p.232, 'Chronological Survey'.

5 As did Mangkurat II in 1600 A.J. (1677 A.D.). See Chapter II.

The period between the changes of power were often periods of disorder and devastation. This was particularly true of the periods preceding the coming of the Messiahs. This alternation of periods of disorder with regular kingdoms is reminiscent of the Hindu concept of the cycle of existence revolving between rebirth and destruction. The concept of the specific duration of kingdoms is also similar to the Hindu belief that each of the four ages had a set but diminishing time span allotted to it.

These Hindu influences were later augmented by Islamic influences. It has already been pointed out that the name Mahdī is often used for the Javanese Messiah. The Mahdī's role as a 'just king' (Ratu Adil) and the promoter of religion has also been grafted onto the Javanese traditions. The influence of Islam on the indigenous predictions has however been marginal.[1]

In the eighteenth century A.D. a new indigenous form of Messianic tradition developed in Java. This new genre is most often referred to as the pralambangs of Djajabaja, king of Kediri. Djajabaja is the reputed author of all the pralambangs, but this claim is impossible when one considers that Djajabaja is supposed to have reigned circa 100 A.J. (1000 A.D.), according to the Javanese traditions (the historical Djajabaja however was living in the eleventh

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[1] e.g. 'The islamization [of the Javanese predictions] is limited to a few features which include in the main the prophesying of a just king who shall rule over Java, and shall in particular restore peace and justice and reinstate religion'. G. Drewes, op.cit., p.182.

century A.D.), while the pralambangs began to appear only during the eighteenth century.[1] Thus much of what Djajabaja 'prophesies' is in fact history (or a Javanese view of it) masquerading as prophecy. Nevertheless each pralambang does have its portion of true prophecy expressing pious hopes for an imminent Messiah. It is this actual prophecy regarding the Messiah rather than the historical prologue which has had the greater attraction for the Javanese.

Published versions of the Djajabaja pralambangs are few. The text of the 'Serat Djaja Baja' appears in de Hollander's anthology of Javanese writing.[2] Raffles included some examples in his 'History of Java',[3] as did Winter in his 'Zamenspraken'.[4] In 1872 Wiselius described in detail the prophecies and their contents.[5] In 1889 Brandes published a prototype of the predictions with a Dutch translation.[6]

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1 There is no evidence of the existence of the pralambangs in the intervening centuries. No copies of the pralambangs could have existed from the time of their supposed composition in the ninth, tenth or eleventh centuries to be exploited in the eighteenth century, for in the Javanese climate they would have quickly rotted and disappeared.

2 J.A.B. Wiselius, 'Djaja Baja Zijn Leven en Profetieën', BKI (19) 1872, p.174 sq.

3 T.S. Raffles, 'The History of Java', vol.II, p.70.

4 C.F. Winter, 'Zamenspraken', vol.II, p.248.

5 J.A.B. Wiselius, op.cit, pp.172-217.

6 J. Brandes, 'Iets over een ouderen Dipanegara in verband met een prototype van de voorspellingen van Jayabaya', TBG 32 (1889), pp.368-431.

The text published by Brandes in 1889 is interesting for several reasons. First, it is extremely old, as evidenced by the fact that the last date mentioned which is identifiable as historical is 1640 A.J. (1715 A.D.). Also the second Messiah is supposed to come in 1800 A.J. (1871 A.D.), whereas all later pralambangs claim the first Messiah is to come in 1800 A.J. (1871 A.D.). The text also shows no Islamic influence. Its basic framework is to be found repeated in the later pralambangs supposedly written by Djajabaja, but nowhere in this particular text is Djajabaja mentioned. For all these reasons, the text has been considered the 'prototype' of the later predictions.

The content of the prototype is summarised by the present anihor as follows:

> Java is first to see a number of kingdoms including Madjapahit, Giri, Demak and Padjang. Specific mention is made of Anjakrakusuma (Sultan Agung). His reign is said to be followed by disturbances arising out of succession quarrels.[1] In 1601 A.J. (1678 A.D.) the Messiah Erutjakra is to appear. He is to establish his residence in Madiun and institute a 'golden age', but for a short time only, for in 1640 A.J. (1715 A.D.) he is to disappear. Disorder will return and the 'prediction' is made that the princes will war against themselves.[2]

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1 The disturbances referred to are the attack of Trunadjaja on Mataram in 1677 A.D., and the expulsion of Amangkurat III from Kartasura by Pangéran Puger (later Pakubuwono I). There were also various rebellions, including the Surapati troubles. These disturbances are attested to by Dutch sources and are historical.

2 The war between Pangéran Mangkubumi and Pakubuwono II which resulted in the splitting of Mataram may be meant here, but it may also be the product of the author's imagination.

> A new Messiah Prabu Asmarakingking is to appear in 1800 A.J. (1871 A.D.) and the prophesy is made that he will institute 100 years of good government.[1]

The text ends with a reference to this second Messiah's reign: 'Djaman iku muli kadi ing trita'.[2]

In the prototype a basic pattern is distinguishable which is to be found in the later predictions:

EVENTS AS RELATED IN PROTOTYPE	PATTERN
(i) Historical kingdoms of Java down to Mataram and Anjakrakusuma	STABILITY AND ORDER OF 'GOLDEN AGE'
(ii) An ensuing period of disorder (perhaps Trunadjaja attack; accession of Pakubuwono I)	DISORDER
(iii) Appearance of first Messiah, reigning in Ketangga in Madiun for 40 years	REBIRTH AND STABILITY
(iv) 'Disappearance' of first Messiah and ensuing disorder	DISORDER
(v) Appearance of second Messiah, who reigns for 100 years	REBIRTH AND STABILITY

The later pralambangs fill out and embellish the pattern of the prototype and also provide a pseudo-historical prologue which introduces Djajabaja as the revealer of the predictions. This prologue is usually in the following form:[3]

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[1]This claim is manifestly unhistorical.

[2]'That age reinstitutes the tṛta age', J. Brandes, op.cit., p.387. The tṛta age is the second of the yugas. The kṛta age of course is the best of the yugas, and it is this age which most probably was intended.

[3]The following summary, based on a summary in Wiselius' article, is the author's own.

> Java was originally uninhabited until the Sultan of Rum[1] (Turkey) sent settlers there, with priests to exorcise the local spirits. 170 years later, God sent down the first king and thereby instituted the Djaman Tirta (Skt. tṛta-yuga[2]). There followed a series of kingdoms similar to those in the prototype: Wiraṭa, Ngastina, Prambanan, Mendang Kamulan.
>
> In 800 A.J. king Djajabaja established his capital at Daha (Kediri). During his reign there arrived a sheikh from Rum, who taught him the secret sciences contained in the Kitab Musarar. From this sheikh Djajabaja learnt that only three of his descendants would rule over Daha, whereafter this kingdom would disappear and be replaced by another. Djajabaja was also told of the seven future periods of Javanese history.
>
> The sheikh returned to Turkey, and Djajabaja continued to rule in Daha. He later paid a visit to the Buddhist priest Ki Adjar Subrata, who lived on Mt Pandan. The king was accompanied by his son. They were served seven dishes of food on their arrival, but no sooner was the food served than Djajabaja slew the priest, and the nun who had prepared the seven dishes. In his subsequent explanation to his son of his killing of the priest, Djajabaja revealed the future history of Java. The priest had been killed because he had dared to reveal the secrets of the Kitab Musarar, for the seven dishes were allegorical representations of the seven future periods of Javanese history.

Djajabaja's revelations of the future history of Java are set out in the pralambangs in the following form:

> The first period to follow Djajabaja and his three descendants is to be the narpati period, covering the kingdoms of Djenggala, Kediri, Singasari and Ngurawan. The end of this age is to be marked by war and fighting. Next comes the period of Padjadjaran which, after 100 years, is to be torn apart by disputes. Peace returns

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1 In the mention of Turkey, the Kitab Musarar and the sheikh, we can see the intrusion of Islamic cultural elements, of which the prototype was free.

2 Again the tṛta age is referred to, when it is the kṛta age, the true golden age, that is meant.

with the establishing of the Madjapahit kingdom, which is to last 100 years. After Madjapahit's demise, Demak is to establish the Islamic religion in Java, but this kingdom's power is soon to be transferred to Padjang. The combined rule of Demak and Padjang is to be 99 years.

Mataram is to succeed to Padjang and it is described as a very powerful kingdom. But only three people shall reign there, and after 100 years the kingdom will disappear in the face of wars among the princes.[1] In the disorder following the fall of Mataram, sea-traders (Dutch and English) shall come to Java and divide the land. One division of the land will be a second kingdom of Padjang (Surakarta). This second Padjang will last 60 years and four kings shall reign before another period of disorder and bloodshed comes. Following the second Padjang, injustices are to abound, all moral precepts are to be abandoned, crops shall fail and storms and floods devastate the fields. Two merchants of high rank are to oppress the people, only to disappear. Devastation is to return:

"But now is the end of that kingdom nigh. Solar and lunar eclipses, rain, wind, earthquakes, whirlwinds, and showers of ash shall come about... everywhere the enemy (the sea-traders) change their position. They become very powerful; many of them come to Java...."[2]

In the midst of all this destruction there shall come the first Messiah and he shall be called Si Tundjung Putih (or Erutjakra).[3] He is to restore peace and order to Java. He is to disappear and disorder is to return.

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[1]The end of Mataram is variously set at 1650 A.J., 1670 A.J., or 1600 A.J. in the predictions. The latter date of 1600 A.J. agrees exactly with the Babad Tanah Djawi's date for the 'end' of Mataram. The pralambangs' references to the end of Mataram and ensuing disorder therefore concur to some extent with the historical fact of the attack of Trunadjaja on Mataram, which technically ended the rule of Mataram, and thereby initiated a series of Succession wars in Java.

[2]Wiselius, op.cit., p.186.

[3]No firm tradition was ever established about the names of the two Messiahs. The names Si Tundjung Putih (White Water Lily), Erutjakra, Prabu Asmarakingking and Mahdī, were all used to refer to either the first or second Messiah or to both, without distinction.

> However Erutjakra shall come as the second Messiah. He shall have two residences, one in Arabia[1] and the other in Madiun. He shall institute a period of good government and his reign will last 100 years. After that, there will come a series of kingdoms alternating with periods of disunity and disorder.

It may be opportune at this moment to examine the meaning and the derivation of the Messianic title, Erutjakra, which Dipanegara later assumed. Wiselius first suggested the meaning of Erutjakra to be 'good spear'. He took 'eru-' to be derived from Arabic 'chairun' meaning good, and '-cakra' as in Javanese was taken to mean 'spear'.[2] This meaning was immediately challenged by Cohen-Stuart.[3] Though uncertain, he felt that '-tjakra' may be derived from 'cakravartin', a Sanskrit word for king. He also felt that 'eru' came from Arabic 'chairun', and so he suggested the meaning 'good king', arguing that this was consistent with the Islamic idea that the Messiah was a 'Just King'. Brandes in 1889 further contended that Erutjakra in fact meant 'jewel of the world': 'eru' meaning 'jewel' and 'tjakra', 'world'.[4]

There the matter rested until 1947 when Pigeaud proposed a radically different solution to the problem.[5] He

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[1] Another example of increasing Islamic influence.

[2] Wiselius, op.cit., p.213.

[3] A.B. Cohen-Stuart, 'Eroe Tjakra', BKI (1872), pp.258-88.

[4] Brandes, op.cit., p.369.

[5] Th. P. Pigeaud, 'Erucakra-Vairocana', in India Antiqua, Leiden, 1947, pp.270-4.

argued that Erucakra was derived from vairocana, one of the dhyāni-buddhas of Mahayana Buddhism. 'Eru-', he contended was derived from 'vairo-', and he explained the change of '-cana' to 'tjakra' by claiming that in later centuries people were more familiar with the termination -tjakra in connection with kings. Thus vairocana came to be Erutjakra. In 1960 he reaffirmed his theory in his work 'Java in the 14th Century'.[1] Philologically, Pigeaud's interpretation is the most convincing but it remains to be shown why the name of a dhyāni-buddha should be chosen as a name for the Javanese Messiah. It may in fact hearken back to the days of Buddhist Majapahit, and have some connection with one of the illustrious kings of that period. As yet, however, only its derivation seems determined. It remains for future research to demonstrate the reasons for its adoption.

From the point of view of dating,[2] the pralambangs can be divided into four categories:

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[1] Th. P. Pigeaud, 'Java in the 14th Century', The Hague, 1960, vol.IV, p.130.

[2] One can date with relative ease the various Djajabaja predictions, or at least provide for them dating in the form of termini a quo. The writer of a pralambang usually made the distinction between actual and post-eventum prophecy clear. For example, a reference to the kingdom of Majapahit is obviously historical. When a pralambang refers to Anjakrakusuma, it is not to be doubted that it is referring to Sultan Agung, the greatest king of Mataram. Often the veracity of facts mentioned can be attested to by the Dutch or other European sources. However at a certain point in a pralambang, 'historical' references become manifestly mythical. 100 years of peace, 50 years of unending turbulence, the Messiah himself, are clearly prophetic. By identifying and then dating the last historical facts mentioned in a pralambang, one can establish the earliest date at which that particular pralambang could have been composed. In this way one can attempt to provide dating in the form of termini a quo.

(i) pre-Gianti (pre-1755) pralambangs
(ii) post-Gianti "
(iii) post-Java War "
(iv) post-1870 "

The 'prototype' of Brandes is the only extant example of the pre-Gianti pralambangs. The claim that the ancient king Djajabaja composed the pralambangs is quite impossible when one considers that this earliest example of the pralambangs dates only from the period circa 1720 to 1755 A.D. This dating of the prototype has been calculated from the reference in the text to the 'disappearance' of the first Messiah Erutjakra in 1640 A.J. (1715 A.D.). This is the last date mentioned, and subsequent details are largely unhistorical. The 'disappearance' of Erutjakra in 1640 A.J. should be compared with the historical fact of the exile of the rebel prince Pangéran Dipanegara Erutjakra I to the Cape of Good Hope in 1648 A.J. (1723 A.D.).

Pangéran Dipanegara Erutjakra I first appears in the Babad Tanah Djawi as Radèn Mas Sengkawa,[1] one of the 12 children of Pangéran Puger. His adult name was Radèn Mas Taruna.[2] On the occasion of his father's accession to the throne he was given the name Pangéran Dipanegara.[3] When the realm was later threatened by many rebels including some of his own brothers, his father ceded to him half the

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1 Babad Tanah Djawi, op.cit., p.250.

2 Babad Tanah Djawi, op.cit., p.253.

3 Babad Tanah Djawi, op.cit., p.258.

kingdom of Kartasura, including all the land east of Mount Lawu.[1] The similarity between this and Arilangga's division of the realm[2] to avoid schisms is striking indeed:

> I have already bequeathed to your younger brother Dipanegara ..., the country from Mt Lawu eastwards to the land of Blambangan. You have this country to rule between the two of you. But do not try to extend your rule westwards of the Lawu.[3]

Dipanegara I left Kartasura and travelled eastward to his new domain. He was crowned 'Panembahan Érutjakra Sénapati ing Alaga Ngabdur - Rahman Sahidin Panatāgama'[4] and he set up his residence in Madiun, later to become the traditional residence of Erutjakra, the Messiah. However, he ignored the orders of his father and crossed westward from Mt Lawu in search of conquests. From this point onwards Dipanegara I was doomed to defeat. Nevertheless he was possessed of very considerable divinity, a fact which is demonstrated when one of his servants Sasranegara died a horrible death after having had intercourse with his seven concubines:

> The seven concubines (of Dipanegara) were taken by Sasranegara. After three days the penis of Sasranegara began to swell and burst. He cried and moaned, asking forgiveness

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1 <u>Babad Tanah Djawi</u>, op.cit., pp.331-2.

2 As the Nagarakṛtagama explains, the kingdom of Airlangga was divided to prevent disputes among his sons. A priest was engaged to perform the division.

3 <u>Babad Tanah Djawi</u>, op.cit., p.332.

4 This is the traditional title of the kings of Mataram, save for the addition of the title <u>Erutjakra</u>. Prince Dipanegara I seems to have been the first to have used the title Erutjakra.

> of his lord...after an illness of seven days he died.[1]

Dipanegara I's cause rapidly collapsed and he was forced to flee eastwards to escape the Dutch and Kartasura armies which were sent to capture the various rebels in the East. During his flight eastwards, he stayed for a week at Tembajat, the burial place of Ki Pandan Arang.[2]

The last mention of Dipanegara I in the Meinsma Babad Tanah Djawi describes his flight to Lumadjang in 1646 A.J. (1723 A.D.) in the company of his brother Pangéran Purbaya.[3] However from other babads it is known that he was captured and exiled to the Cape of Good Hope in 1648 A.J. (1725 A.D.) where he died.[4]

The identical title of Erutjakra held by the Messiah of the prototype and by Prince Dipanegara I, the fact that both had their residences in Madiun, the similarity of their fates (exile and 'disappearance'), and the closeness of the

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1 Babad Tanah Djawi, op.cit. (Jav. version), p.345. In many societies there are beliefs in the danger resulting from the handling of the property and clothing of chiefs, princes, priests and other tabooed persons, e.g.: 'In Fiji there is a special name (kana lama) for the disease supposed to be caused by eating out of a chief's dish or wearing his clothes. The throat and body swells, and the impious person dies' - from J.G. Frazer, 'The Golden Bough' (abridged), New York, 1947, p.202.

2 Babad Tanah Djawi, op.cit. (Jav. version), p.346 and Rinkes, 'Ki Pandan Arang te Tembayat', De Heiligen van Java (IV), TBG (vol.53, 1911), pp.435-581, see p.502.

3 Babad Tanah Djawi, op.cit. (Jav. version), p.360.

4 J.J. Meinsma, 'Geschiedenis van Kartasoera volgens de Babad in prozabewerking van den heer C.F. Winters Sr.', BKI (28), 1880, pp.565-78.

two dates 1640 and 1648 A.J. in connection with their similar fates strongly suggest that the Messiah Erutjakra of the prototype and Prince Dipanegara Erutjakra I are one and the same. Therefore the prototype of Brandes can only have been written after the prince's exile, that is after 1648 A.J. or 1723 A.D.

Later post-Gianti pralambangs mention the division of the realm by the 'sea-traders' and the establishment of a second Padjang (Surakarta) either in 1600 A.J. (1677 A.D.), 1650 A.J. (1725 A.D.) or 1670 A.J. (1745 A.D.). Again the dates do not wholly agree but the idea of the creation of a second Padjang in 1745 A.D., according to some versions, is apparently a reference to the Treaty of Gianti (1755 A.D.) which settled the succession disputes within the Mataram royal family by dividing the kingdom into two parts, Jogjakarta and Surakarta. This is the last historical fact to be mentioned by this type of pralambang, for after the division of the kingdom they prophesy gross disorder and lawlessness, though it is known from Dutch sources that the treaty of Gianti restored peace to Central Java for many years. Therefore the *terminus a quo* for this type of pralambang can be set at + 1755 A.D.[1]

After the Java War (1825-30 A.D.), when Dipanegara's messianic mission had failed, new prophecies were formulated setting the appearance of the first Messiah in 1800 A.J. (1871 A.D.), and the appearance of the second in

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[1] Wiselius (Djaja Baja op.cit.) also states this.

1900 A.J. (1970 A.D.). Again, after 1871 A.D. passed without the appearance of even the first Messiah, further prophecies were formulated, in particular those of the budjangga Ranggawarsita. Many of these prophecies look forward to the appearance of the first Messiah in 1900 A.J. (1970 A.D.) and the second in 2000 A.J., or even in 2100 A.J.

It has already been noted that, for a number of reasons, Pangéran Dipanegara Erutjakra I should be considered as the historical prototype of the Messiah Erutjakra. It would seem that around this prince, who first used the name Erutjakra, there were crystallized many messianic hopes current in the period 1670-1720 A.D. This period was disturbed by the rebellions of Trunadjaja in 1677 A.D., of Pakubuwana in 1704 and of Pangéran Dipanegara I and his brothers from 1719 to 1723. This long period of disorder and chaos, it is suggested, produced the initial impetus for the development of the pralambangan genre. Pangéran Dipanegara I seems to have played a politico-religious role at this time for he is attributed with divine characteristics and his father Pakubuwana I is supposed by the Babad Tanah Djawi to have given him sway over all of Eastern Java. This politico-religious aura may explain why he was taken as the prototype of a Messiah. The fact remains that in the development of the pralambang literature in the early and middle eighteenth century A.D., the memory of Pangéran Dipanegara I and his abortive rebellion was preserved in references to a first Messiah who comes to

Java, establishes his residence in Madiun, but alas soon disappears.

One of the first princes after Dipanegara I to be influenced by the predictions of an Erutjakra was Pangéran Singasari.[1] This prince had been making war against the Dutch and the Surakarta court before the Third Succession War (1746-56).[2] His centre was East Java and his capital was Kediri, Trunadjaja's former capital and a city closely associated with the Messiah. After the 1757 Treaty of Salatiga which brought peace to Central Java he continued his rebellion in East Java, aided by the descendants of Surapati. He soon took the title of Prabu Jaka and proceeded to establish a new capital at Madjapahit, the former centre of a renowned kingdom. Later still he took the title Panembahan Erutjakra.[3] However, the Sultans of

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[1] Sources on this Pangéran Singasari are few. See A.C.Vreede, '<u>Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek</u>', Leiden, 1892, pp.95-8.
- J.K.J. de Jonge, '<u>De opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag over Java</u>', The Hague, 1883, vol.B, pp.IX-XVII.
- H.J. de Graaf, '<u>Geschiedenis van Indonesië</u>', The Hague/ Bandung, 1949, pp.272-3.

[2] i.e. the war between Pangéran Mangkubumi and his brother Pakubuwana II.

[3] Pangéran Singasari, Pangéran Dipanegara Erutjakra I and Dipanegara II were the only rebels who overtly took the title of Erutjakra. Professor Shrieke however speaks of Pangéran Kadjoran, a contemporary of Mangkurat II and Trunadjaja, as 'appearing' to be an Erutjakra, but Professor Shrieke sees the concept of Erutjakra merely as a descriptive label to stick on rebels of all kinds, whether they took the title or not. In this way he can claim that 'Trunadjaja, Pangéran Puger, Pangéran Mertasana and the aged panembahan of Giri, all manifested Erutjakra characteristics'. Such a diverse and unwarranted application of the title Erutjakra dilutes its messianic overtones and reduces it in meaning to 'rebel'. The use of the title Erutjakra should properly be restricted to those who claimed it. See B. Schrieke, '<u>Indonesian Sociological Studies: Vol.II</u>', Ruler and Realm in Early Java, pp.81-95.

Jogja and Solo decided to move against him and pacify East Java. In this they were aided by the Dutch who feared English overtures in the extreme East of Java. The rebellion of Pangéran Singasari was not easy to suppress, but he was eventually captured in 1767 A.D. and he died a year later in 1768. Though Pangéran Singasari's rebellion was as abortive as that of Pangéran Dipanegara I, his use of the title Erutjakra may well have firmly established its fame and function within Javanese society.

The predictions of Djajabaja would seem to have become increasingly popular after the division of Surakarta in 1755, as the Dutch became increasingly powerful and as the power of the Javanese courts waned. These two factors made the appearance of the Messiah, 'the regeneration of the realm', even more imperative. One can imagine the growing concern among Javanese literati in view of the continuing uncertainties about the future direction of the kingdom. This concern was augmented by the confusion and disillusion felt because of the deterioration of morals and standards of conduct, referred to in several contemporary works.[1] Such deterioration was a certain indication of the imminent destruction of the kingdom. Many Javanese became sympathetic to the idea that there soon must come some holocaust which would eliminate all sinfulness and immorality. From this destruction there would rise the Messiah in the year 1800 A.J. (1871 A.D.), as foretold in

[1] S. Moertono, op.cit., pp.46-52.

the prophecies of Djajabaja, and He would institute the Golden Age. The 1870's did in fact witness sporadic, religiously inspired rebellions in Central Java, and these disturbances first turned the attention of Dutch scholars to the source of their inspiration, the predictions of Djajabaja.[1] The year 1800 A.J. also had some significance for the opponents of Islam. The Serat Dermagandul, written in 1878/1879 A.D. saw the year 1800 A.J. as the end of 400 years of Islamic domination in Java,[2] and the beginning of a new 'Buddhist' age.[3] Thus for the opponents of Islam, traditionalists, and the devotees of the Messiah, the nineteenth century and the 1870's A.D. in particular were crucial.

In this atmosphere of doubt, frustration and, at the same time, heightened expectations, many in all classes came to believe that only through violent measures could there be a rejuvenation of Javanese society:

> ...this period immediately preceding the Java War was considered a time of decline, a time in which society lay in a state of abject inertia. Should we not see the Java War, then, in its five-year long serenity as a desperate effort to recapture past grandeur and independence of kingship.[4]

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1 Wiselius, for example, in his study begins by referring to these disturbances and the increasing Dutch interest in their inspiration.

2 G.W.J. Drewes, 'The Struggle between Javanism and Islam as illustrated by the Sĕrat Dermagandul', BKI (122,3-4), 1966.

3 The new Buddhism was in fact Western knowledge, because ka-buda-n in Javanese, derived from Sanskrit, means knowledge as well as referring to Buddha.

4 S. Moertono, op.cit., p.47.

Prince Dipanegara II shared the same concern for the future of Java, and he turned to the predictions to signal his opposition both to the Dutch and the incapable court of Jogja. In proclaiming himself to be the Messiah Erutjakra, he was expressing a desire to regenerate the state, its religion (Islam in his case) and its institutions. In accepting the Messiah's mantle in 1753 A.J. (1825 A.D.), Dipanegara ignored the timetable set out in the pralambangs, whereby Messiahs appeared only at the beginning of centuries (1800 A.J. or 1900 A.J.). Yet this did not affect the amount of support Dipanegara as Messiah was able to rally amongst both superstitious abangan villagers and the people of the capital. As Tjakranegara says, people from town and village flocked to the defence of the Messiah. The unfurling of the banner of the Messiah aroused deep feelings and found widespread support among the mass of frustrated and confused Javanese. The Javanese Messianic traditions must therefore be seen as making important contributions to the level of support that Dipanegara was able to maintain, and it may help to explain to some extent the bitterness and length of the war that ensued.

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CHAPTER V

TJAKRANEGARA'S VIEW OF THE CAUSES OF THE JAVA WAR

One of the aims of this work has been to determine whether the Javanese, looking at the war from their own unique perspective, could find causes for the war, different from those advanced by Europeans. In discussing the war, Europeans have assigned to themselves a principal part in the events leading up to the war and have referred to economic causes as paramount. It is interesting therefore to note that Tjakranegara in his largely factual account of events assigns Javanese to the principal roles and the Dutch are seen to play only a marginal part. Moreover he advances as sole reason for the war the increasing conflict between two cliques at the Jogjakarta court leading to the outbreak of hostilities.

The first clique was that of Dipanegara and his supporters. The senior position of Dipanegara in the kingdom of Jogjakarta should not be overlooked. He was a great-grandson of Pangéran Mangkubumi (Sultan Hamengku Buwana) who had founded Jogjakarta. He had been of great assistance to his father when the latter was appointed to the throne by the English in 1812. He had been offered the throne by his father but had refused, making way for his younger brother. When his nephew succeeded to the throne in 1822 he had acquired a great deal of seniority as one of the few remaining princes of royal blood. Only his uncle, Pangéran Mangkubumi had more seniority and standing. Though

Dipanegara did not reside in Jogja and tried to avoid the 'corrupting' capital as much as possible, he nevertheless presented himself at court for consultations and state business. He considered that his opinions ought to be sought on state matters, and he chided the minister Danuredja for once not bringing to his attention the cession of lands to the Dutch.[1] Thus in his own estimation, Dipanegara was a grandee of the kingdom who by virtue of his eminence should have had an important part to play in the formulation of state policy.

Aligned with Dipanegara was the Islamic (or santri) community in Jogjakarta. Islam had not yet become fully entrenched in Central and East Java, and the court of Jogja particularly neglected religion. Tjakranegara relates that Dipanegara himself wrote to the Queen Mother regarding the immoral education she was giving to his brother, Sultan Djarot.[2] Dipanegara considered that his brother had forgotten religion, for he called him to Tegalkedja to tell him stories of the deeds of evil kings of Arabia and Syria. In this situation where the court did not place a high value on religion, the leaders of the Islamic community turned to Dipanegara whose devotion to Islam and Sufi mysticism was renowned. From him they sought protection and through him they furthered the interests of Islam in Jogjakarta.

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1 Canto IV, verse 70.

2 Canto II, verses 23-5.

Dipanegara was also able to rally considerable support from among the abangan peasantry. Though of different temperaments and beliefs, nevertheless the abangan peasantry eagerly supported Dipanegara who was linked with the Messiah and Erutjakra.[1] Dipanegara's pilgrimages and visits to caves and the Southern Ocean were inevitably regarded by this group as a proper preparation for royal power. Dipanegara was for them a highly magical and powerful person. Their devotion to Dipanegara was due to the strength of traditional pre-Muslim beliefs. The group supporting Dipanegara was thus a formidable combination of santri and abangan elements.[2]

Opposed to the Dipanegara clique and anxious to preserve the status quo in Jogja was a group composed of the Ratu Ageng, the Queen Mother who was the chief queen of Sultan Radja and mother of Djarot; Wiranegara, a Balinese who held the rank of Major in the palace guard; and the patih (minister) Danuredja IV. As this group[3] represented the established power it had the support of the Dutch, which made the opposition of the Islamic clique of Dipanegara even more urgent. The Queen Mother was opposed to Dipanegara because she feared that he had ambitions to seize

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1 See above, Chapter IV.

2 In Canto IX, verse 11, line a, Tjakranegara also relates that a number of palace functionaries and noblemen joined his cause. Dipanegara's uncle, prince Mangkubumi, also joined him immediately before the outbreak of hostilities.

3 This group corresponds well with Geertz's prijaji, the aristocracy and government functionaries.

the throne from her son Djarot and, after Djarot's death, her grandson Menol. In this context she reviled Dipanegara as the son of a lesser wife:

> Kelamun ta wajah mami
> tan sida madeg hadji
> kasela kang dadi ratu
> pangran Dipanegara
> pan iku anaké selir.[1]

She had little reason in fact to fear Dipanegara's ambition. The latter had given up his opportunity to become king when he had recognized the stronger claim of his brother who, though younger, was the child of the Chief Queen. Dipanegara also agreed to the accession to the throne of his nephew and placed no difficulty in the way of his coronation. He made one request only, that he be relieved of the duty to act as a guardian of his nephew so that he could continue his religious devotions. Nevertheless the Queen Mother suspected Dipanegara of ambitions on the throne and she manoeuvred to alienate all possible sources of support for his claims. The Dutch residents de Salis and Smissaert she easily won over. Wiranegara was completely her creature.

The patih Danuredja willingly allied himself with the Queen Mother to achieve their joint aim of eliminating

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[1] Canto III, verse 60, d-h.

> If my grandson
> does not become king
> in his place prince Dipanegara
> will become king
> and he is the child of a lesser wife.

Dipanegara. As patih, Danuredja already held a prominent position in the state hierarchy. However he aspired to a position of pre-eminence among the princes of the realm, which would have made him the most powerful man in the kingdom, for Sultan Menol was still only a child in the years 1822-5. In these ambitions he met the opposition of Dipanegara who regarded himself quite correctly as senior prince of the royal line and more worthy of such pre-eminence. Dipanegara's feeling of superiority towards Danuredja was further increased by the fact that Dipanegara had secured the appointment of Danuredja as patih in 1812. The fact that he had risen to a position of power through the good offices of Dipanegara served only to feed the jealousy and hatred of Danuredja for the prince. Danuredja was also quick to take offence at Dipanegara's continuing failure to pay courtesy calls to his home:

kelawan para pangéran
mring Danuredja pan samja iring
mung pangéran Dipanegari
tan kersa mring wismanipun.[1]

The concept of the struggle between cliques for pre-eminence in the kingdom is a familar concept in Javanese history. The rebellion in 1810 of Radèn Rangga

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1 Canto III, verse 69, c-f.
and the various princes,
they all respected Danuredja
only prince Dipanegara
had no desire to go to his home.

Prawirjadirdja, provoked by the patih of Jogja Danuredja II conforms to the pattern. Radèn Rangga, openly supported by the princes Natakusuma and Natadiningrat and covertly encouraged by Sultan Sepuh, was opposed to the further extension of Dutch power in the kingdom. He was opposed by the patih who relied on the Dutch presence for self-preservation, and also by Dipanegara's father who had early ambitions to the throne. Radèn Rangga was forced into rebellion when the patih secured from the Dutch an order that the prince go to Bogor to receive punishment for certain attacks he had made against the territory of Surakarta. The splitting of Mataram was similarly the result of a personal conflict between Pangèran Mangkubumi and his brother Pakubuwono II, wherein both engaged in a struggle for pre-eminence. The Javanese state with its autocratic court reflecting no real interest of the people, but rather the personal ambition of individuals, proved to be highly unstable. Power could easily shift from one personality or clique to another as temporary alliances were forged and broken. Thus rebellion and murder often brought about substantial change in personnel at the centre.

Tjakranegara traces the clear development of the conflict between Dipanegara and the Danuredja clique through several incidents which led up to the outbreak of hostilities on 20 July 1825. Tjakranegara also emphasises that it was Danuredja who sought to provoke Dipanegara into rebellion, so that he could be crushed by the Dutch, who would support the established order.

The first such incident of provocation occurred at the time of the accession of Menol in 1822. The coronation had been delayed while the resident de Salis sought permission from Batavia to relieve Dipanegara of his guardianship of Menol. The Queen Mother thought that Dipanegara might be planning to seize the throne and she began to cajole the resident into ordering an immediate coronation. Danuredja supported her in this campaign. Thus Menol was crowned only three days after the death of his father <u>and in the absence of Dipanegara</u>, who was at Silarong engaged in meditation. Dipanegara was horrified to learn soon after that he had not been informed of, nor invited to, the ceremony. Stunned, he locked himself in his house at Selaradja where he slept for three days and three nights. When he emerged he called together his closest advisors and his friends in the Muslim community to discuss this insult:

Déné saking kangdjeng kula
jèn wus serat semajané puniki
sajektiné kula mantuk
dadak kula tinilap
pan selé̀ntja lan rembagé wau-wau
lah puniku sabab napa
akarja malaning ati
kados mekaten punika
inggih akalé ibu lawan Danuredjèki
lawan Wiraŋegarèku
<u>amrih nepsu kawula</u>

kados pundi jèn kula nuruti nepsu

pesti gègèring Ngajogdja.[1]

The Muslim scholars he had assembled cautioned him not to respond to this provocation because this was a test of God. They pointed out that he should beware of the temptations of the devil which counselled violence. He should put out of his mind discordant feelings of revenge for these present the realization of tauhid (Divine Unity) and ma'rifat (gnosis).[2] Dipanegara accepted this advice and the matter was forgotten.

Danuredja soon conceived a new provocation. He and Wiranegara suggested to the new resident, Smissaert, that a road be built to connect the southern areas of Jogja with the highway that led north to Semarang. It was to pass through the western areas of the kingdom avoiding the capital. The road was also to pass through land belonging to Dipanegara and on which he had established a pleasure garden.[3] Smissaert agreed to the proposal in principle, but

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[1]Canto IV, verses 17 a - 18 f.

It was my intention
that when the letter (in reply) had come (from Batavia)
I would certainly return to Jogja.
Suddenly I am pushed to one side
what had happened is not in accordance with the former advice.
Why should they
cause sorrow in my heart?
This must be
the trick of my mother and Danuredja
together with Wiranegara
they try to make me angry
but what would happen if I acted on my anger
surely Jogja would be torn asunder.

[2]Sufi goals.

[3]Canto IV, verse 59.

warned Danuredja that he should first obtain the permission of Dipanegara before commencing work.[1] Danuredja and Wiranegara had no intention of seeking the prince's permission. Tjakranegara continues on to describe how Dipanegara was resting in his pleasure garden when he caught sight of workmen driving stakes into his land. The gardener informed him that they were the servants of the patih and were under the supervision of Bratakusuma. Dipanegara was incensed and he ordered the gardener to pull up all the stakes, and if any person resisted, he was to be hit on the head. Bratakusuma and his men were quickly dispersed with sore heads and a report was made to Danuredja. Danuredja eagerly informed the Resident of Dipanegara's rebellious behaviour, but Smissaert recognized that there had been provocation and the matter was dropped:

> Bijèn ingsun wus wekas
> dèn abetjik mring pangéran sidji iku
> samubarang ing prakara
> rembuga dipun ararih
> iku sigra Bratakusuma
> tanpa tembung dènira masang andjir
> bener kang naboki iku.[2]

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[1]Canto IV, verses 55-7.

[2]Canto IV, verse 67 d - 68 c.

> Formerly I (Smissaert) told you (Danuredja)
> to be polite towards this one prince,
> all matters
> should be discussed peacefully with him
> Bratakusuma
> set out stakes without permission
> he deserved a knock on the head.

The hostility between Dipanegara and Danuredja increased appreciably when on a later occasion Dipanegara struck Danuredja on the cheek with a slipper. Dipanegara had summoned Danuredja to explain the cession of the <u>Redjawinangun</u> sawahs to the Dutch.[1] The patih replied flippantly and Dipanegara struck in order to remind him of his proper station:

Umatur radèn Dipatja
ririh sendu pinirsa sumengit
gya sinampluk uwangipun
lan agemé tjenéla
sanget kanggeg wirangé sadjroning kalbu
kaṭah djalma kang wuninga.[2]

Danuredja dwelt on this humiliation for some time, and in self-defence he drew closer to the Dutch, gaining their confidence and support. Tjakranegara makes the interesting comment that in the months immediately prior to the outbreak of the war Danuredja became increasingly friendly towards the Dutch, while Dipanegara stood aloof, concentrating on meditation and his religious pursuits:

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1 Perhaps the Djabarangkah lands ceded in January 1825. This was only seven months before the outbreak of hostilities.

2 Canto IV, verse 73 a-f.
The minister replied
he was joking, but Dipanegara took it seriously
(the patih) was struck on the cheek
with a slipper
he felt very ashamed
because there were many people who saw it.

Danuredja raket Walanda
djeng pangéran semu tebih
... radjaputra karsanipun
donja akérat antuka.[1]

The Dutch responded to the overtures of the patih, and began to interfere extensively in the affairs of state. Dipanegara was not asked to participate in government, and he became increasingly concerned about the concentration of power in the hands of Danuredja and the Queen Mother, who had allied themselves with the Dutch:

Narpaputra tyas kagugu
ginugu saja ngranuhi
gerahé werdajanira
sabab déning ibu sori
sabarang-barang prakara
Danuredja Wiranegari
lan Welenda kang kinantjan
<u>narpasiwi tan tinari</u>.[2]

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1 Canto IV, verse 77 f-g and verse 79 c-d.
Danuredja drew close to the Dutch
while the prince seemed far off
his (the prince's) one desire
was to attain [prosperity] on earth and hereafter.

2 Canto V, verses 49 a - 50 b.
The more the prince followed his heart
the more
he was sick in his heart
because his mother
discussed all the affairs of administration
with Danuredja and Wiranegara
and the Dutch who were made allies.
The prince was not asked (to contribute).

Tjakranegara did not hesitate to brand the growing power of this clique as destructive of religion and harmful to the well-being of Mataram:

dadi kompro kang nagari
tatané agama rusuh
wit saking rekjana patih
kelawan Wiranegara
rina wengi ngorak-arik
tan pisan ngambah agama.[1]

Dipanegara also looked on the increasing power of the Dutch with some concern:

Welanda iki lawas-lawas jèn saja gung
tamtuné jèn telas
bumi ing Ngajogja kijé
kena kabèh ḍawuhé marang Welanda.[2]

Within this atmosphere of mutual hate and distrust, and as Dipanegara was progressively alienated from the court and, more importantly, from the Dutch, Danuredja began to spread false rumours of Dipanegara's intention to rebel. These rumours were initiated by the Queen Mother:

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1 Canto V, verses 51 f - 52 f.
The state is in a bad way
the rules of religion are flouted;
this is due to the minister Danuredja
and Wiranegara
they destroy the rules of religion
and they do not pay heed to religion.

2 Canto VI, verse 14.
The Dutch become increasingly powerful
the country of Jogja will
certainly
fall into Dutch hands.

Danurdja ngandikan agé
malbèng pura rembug lan dajinta nata
angandika wau kangdjeng ratu ibu
hèh, paran kang warta,
Dipanegara sing mangkè kang
sun angrungu arang-arang saba wisma
nèng Silarong .....
angadeg kraman karepé.[1]

Danuredja immediately conveyed this rumour to Smissaert, hoping that the Dutch would take quick action against Dipanegara who reputedly wished to '<u>ängadeg kraman</u>' (rebel). Smissaert however made no reply, evidently aware that this 'news' of imminent rebellion was no more than a ploy of the minister to achieve the crushing of Dipanegara by means of Dutch armed strength.

It was at this time that Dipanegara, according to Tjakranegara, sent out his servants to search for signs. These pilgrimages confirmed his apparent premonition that a war was imminent and inevitably he was to play a part in it, but his success was uncertain. Tjakranegara also claims that these signs aroused in Dipanegara the resolve to fight his enemies and the 'Kafir' Dutch. In this resolve to

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1 Canto VI, verses 5 c - 7 c.
The minister Danuredja entered the palace
and talked with the Queen Mother.
The Queen Mother said:
"Hey, what is the news
about Dipanegara?
I hear rumours from his residence
that in Silarong .....
he desires to declare himself a rebel".

fight, Dipanegara inevitably turned to Islam for inspiration. He is depicted by Tjakranegara as linking his projected rebellion against the court and their allies, the Dutch, with the support of religion and 'the carrying out of the laws of the Prophet':

> keraos-raos ing drija
> kaja paran déningsun djumeneng adji
> anèng pradja Mentaram
> jèn Welanda mèlu amengkoni
> banget gèsèh lan daliling kitab
> ..... jèn wis takdiripun
> jèn ingsun dadi djalaran
> panedaku mring Allah kang Mahasutji
> muga sun tinrimaa
> djumenenga naléndra agami,
> madeg ana ing rat nusa Djawa
> babon anglakonaké
> saraké kang djeng Rasul
> adja tjampur lawan wong Kapir.[1]

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[1]Canto VIII, verses 16 h - 18 e.
The prince thought on these things:
"Perhaps I shall be king
ruling over Mataram.
If the Dutch meddle in affairs of state
this is in conflict with the words of the Kur'an.
..... if it is God's will
that I be the cause (of great destruction in the kingdom)
I pray to God the all-Holy that
I be accepted
as the Chief of Religion
ruling over the island of Java!
It shall be my task to carry out
the sjariah (law) of the Prophet
and to avoid contact with the
Kafirs (unbelievers)."

In this way Dipanegara came to accept that the growing conflict between his group of Islamic traditionalists and the group of Danuredja supported by the Dutch could be resolved only by violent rebellion. This had been accepted long before by Danuredja who had plotted the destruction of Dipanegara by provoking him into rebellion and using Dutch forces to suppress him. Danuredja had so far failed to impress upon the Dutch the need to suppress Dipanegara by force. The Dutch had ignored his rumours and had seen through his provocations. So far they had failed to detect any rebellious behaviour on the part of Dipanegara. Two incidents, which were the result of misunderstandings, were to convince the Dutch that Dipanegara did in fact have rebellious intentions. On two occasions Smissaert invited Dipanegara to parties. The first was in the Residency itself, and the second was held at Smissaert's country home at Bedaja. On each occasion Smissaert required that Dipanegara not bring armed servants with him. This stipulation aroused Dipanegara's suspicions and he feared that the Dutch intended to seize him. Thus on both occasions he took with him an armed escort and declined to go inside to join the Resident and his party. Because Dipanegara had been accompanied by an armed escort and also refused to join him, Smissaert began to give credence to the rumours of Dipanegara's rebellious intentions.

At the same time, Dipanegara also became convinced of the Dutch resident's intention to seize him. Tjakranegara relates how he gave increasing weight to the rumours that

the resident, in league with the prince Paku Alam, Danuredja and Wiranegara, intended to attack Tegalredja. This growing fear only strengthened his belief in the necessity for a preventive war, which had already taken on the aspect of a Holy War on behalf of the Prophet and God Almighty:

Wikan dalu atanapi sijang
osiking tjas wis pesṭiné
Allah kang Mahagung
ingsun murwa ing perang Sabil
lah ija pati apa
manungsa dèn luru
kedjaba pati utama
donja akérat wus midak saréngat Nabi
karsané Allahtangallah.[1]

Dipanegara therefore began to prepare the defences of Tegalredja against attack. All males in Tegalredja were ordered to be armed and to stand guard at night. He also called on all the people from surrounding villages who supported him to join the people of Tegalredja in standing guard over him at night. Soon 300 people assembled at Tegalredja each night to protect the prince. During the day however they would disperse to their homes.

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[1] Canto VIII, verse 31 b - j.
Day and night
he thought to himself: "It is predestined
by God Almighty
that I should begin a Holy War.
Indeed, what sort of death
is sought by Man?
Surely it is a glorious death
in this world and the next I follow the religion of the Prophet.
It is the will of God Almighty."

As Tjakranegara himself says, it was 'unavoidable' that news of this nightly assembly of armed supporters of the prince soon reached the capital. Danuredja learnt of it from the spies he had sent to Tegalredja and the news was relayed to Smissaert. In the tense atmosphere that had developed the initial reports of armed villagers gathering at Tegalredja to protect the prince were exaggerated until it was generally rumoured that in the month of Sura[1] Dipanegara would leave the capital and declare himself king at Silarong:

> Geder gumrah sapradja Mentaram
> mundak-mundak pawartané
> kang djeng pangéran tamtu
> ngadeg kraman nggitik negara
> pandjangé kang pawarta
> sapradja misuwur
> karsané kangdjeng pangéran

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1 The month of Sura is the first in the Muslim year. In 1825 A.D. the month of Sura began on the 15th or 16th of August. (The Islamic lunar months are shorter than the Christian solar months, and thus occur at different times each year when compared with the Christian calendar). The striking of Danuredja by Dipanegara, it is suggested, occurred in January at the time of the cession of the Redja Winangun lands (see above). The war began on 20 July. These rumours of rebellion in August may therefore have been current as early as February 1825 or as late as June 1825. Events moved quickly after the spreading of these rumours, and therefore May-June 1825 is suggested as the more likely period for the generation and spread of the rumours.

wulan Sura wedalé saking negari
nèng Silarong madeg nata.[1]

Dipanegara on hearing these rumours that he intended to rebel and declare himself king in the month of Sura was no longer disturbed at the prospect, <u>in fact he accepted the rumours as God's call to battle</u>:

Radjasunu mupusing galih
ija kinapakena
djer saderma iku
kabèh kang agawé warta
mobah-mosik atas Allah kang akardi
mangsa sun undurana.[2]

It would seem that Dipanegara then accepted the month of Sura as the time for his rebellion as had been rumoured, for Tjakranegara states that his supporters had received an order that they were to assemble on the night of the seventh of the month of Sura (24 August 1825 A.D.) for an attack on the capital:

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[1] Canto VIII, verse 35.
(The rumours) spread wildly through the whole of Mataram
these rumours increased,
(they say) the prince will
certainly rebel and attack the capital
the rumours were exaggerated
and were known throughout the kingdom,
(they say) the prince
in the month of Sura will depart from the capital
and will declare himself king at Silarong.

[2] Canto VIII, verse 36 e-j.
The prince was composed in his heart:
"What can I do?
Those who spread the rumours
are all mortal beings
all living creatures are subject to the will of God
I cannot argue."

Dawuhé pangéran
sampun wradin sedaja
dèn pesṭi dinané sami
paḍa pepaka
ing sasi Sura iki
tanggal pitu ing wengi paḍa tekaa
ésuk ngepung negara
... désa lan negara
ngantosi kang ubaja
wulan Sura dènnja anti
pan dèrèng prapta.[1]

Dipanegara also began to make overt military preparations appointing friendly village heads as his <u>temenggungs</u> (commanders). He also sent letters to surrounding villages calling on the people to join his army. As well as villagers, townspeople and soldiers in the royal army came to Tegalredja in support of Dipanegara. An indicator of

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[1]Canto IX verses 12 c - 14 f.

The orders of the prince
had gone out in all directions
the day had been set.
They should all assemble
in the month of Sura
on the seventh day at night they should come
and on the following morning they would attack the capital
... people from the villages and the capital
awaited the promised day
they awaited the month of Sura
but this had not yet come.

Dipanegara's orders were more explicit than the rumours, specifying <u>the seventh</u> day of the month of Sura. Since Sura began 15-6 August in the year 1825 this puts the projected assembly of his supporters at 23 August and their subsequent attack on Jogja on 24 August. This is a month before the actual outbreak of hostilities, which would suggest that the Dutch and the court did in fact decide on a surprise pre-emptive attack.

the wide spectrum of support rallied by Dipanegara is the mention by Tjakranegara of Buginese soldiers (daéng) joining the army at Tegalredja. In fact, Dipanegara gathered supporters from most sectors of the kingdom:

Dalu kaṭah djalma prapti
désa mjang pradja
tuwin abdi pradjurit
... Suranata sami prapti
pradjurit Pantjas
daéng prasami prapti.[1]

There can be little doubt that Tjakranegara believed that Dipanegara had planned to rebel. The seventh of the month of Sura was, according to him, accepted by Dipanegara and acknowledged by his opponents as the date for the commencement of his rebellion. Although it is recognized that Dipanegara planned a rebellion, Tjakranegara clearly states that Dipanegara had been subjected to provocation and threatening rumours before he determined on a Holy War, almost as an act of self-preservation.

In Canto IX, Tjakranegara provides a graphic picture of the three days that directly led up to the war.[2] These three days were filled with negotiations and hasty preparations for war by both sides. On 18 July Smissaert

[1]Canto IX, verses 9 e-g and 11 e-g.
By night many people came
there were people from the villages and the capital
and there were soldiers
... those from the Suranata
and Pantjas regiments came
and the Buginese soldiers too.

[2]The details of these three days are recounted in the summary of Canto IX.

returned from his country residence at Bedaya.[1] He had been forced to return because of disturbances in the region, probably caused by the call to arms sent out by Dipanegara. He returned to a capital in fear of an attack from Dipanegara. There were firm indications that such an attack might come on 24 August, a month away. Many had already left the capital to join the prince, while many in the native armed forces had gone over to the prince's side. Noblemen too had allied themselves with Dipanegara. Though the situation had possibly deteriorated too far for conciliation Smissaert nevertheless tried to retrieve it by sending an envoy, Sindunegara, to Tegalredja calling on the prince to come to the Residency to discuss the reasons for his discontent.

Dipanegara rejected two missions from Sindunegara on the 18th and 19th, and a mission by his uncle Pangèran Mangkubumi on the 19th resulted in the latter joining the rebels' cause. By 20 July, Smissaert had become convinced that prince Dipanegara could be subdued by force alone. Thus on the morning of the 20th a force of Javanese and Dutch soldiers were prepared and set out to disperse the supporters of Dipanegara and arrest him in order to avert a war. Danuredja and Wiranegara led the Javanese forces, undoubtedly overjoyed that the Dutch had at last been forced to arrest Dipanegara.

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1 P.H. van der Kemp, 'Hamlettype', op.cit., p.391.

As they set out on that morning the Dutch were certain of victory, and Danuredja perhaps visualized the imminent exile of Dipanegara to the Outer Islands, just as former rebels had been exiled to Ceylon or the Cape of Good Hope. It is clear however that both the Dutch and the Danuredja/ Queen Mother clique had seriously underestimated the support that Dipanegara had rallied. Dipanegara's reputation as a Holy Man and the aura of a Holy War against the unbelievers had won support from devoted Muslims, while Messianic beliefs and the hope for a new Erutjakra had also won over traditionalist and superstitious villagers.

In the battle at Tegalredja the forces of Dipanegara were dispersed, but the prince himself escaped. His supporters were to rally at Silarong where the rumours of the preceding months were proved true. Here Dipanegara called upon the people of Java to rebel, and he was declared Sultan of Mataram and the Messiah Erutjakra.

For his opponents in the court, their plans had failed badly. The subjugation of Dipanegara was to take five years. In Tjakranegara's view of the cause of the war, the personal conflict between Dipanegara on the one hand and Danuredja and the Queen Mother on the other, had led to division and polarization within Javanese society, which had given way to open warfare. In his estimation the patih of Jogjakarta, Danuredja, had been the evil genius who forced this personal conflict to the point of war. The Dutch had been drawn into the conflict as an instrument of Danuredja

and the Queen Mother. However at the conclusion of the lengthy war, only the Dutch could claim victory. Dipanegara had been sent into exile, as his enemies had desired, but Danuredja, who had used the Dutch as <u>his</u> instrument before the war, had been reduced to impotence by the Dutch and had become no more than <u>their</u> puppet.

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TRANSCRIPTION OF <u>KITLV OR 13</u>

(TO END OF CANTO 9)

PRINCIPLES OF TRANSCRIPTION OF KITLV OR 13

(i) The system of spelling used is that generally adopted for romanised Modern Javanese.

(ii) As far as possible spelling inconsistencies have been eliminated from the transcription. A number of irregularities regarding spelling in the MS., which have been removed from the transcription, should be noted:

- (a) [è] and [é] are not distinguished;
- (b) [d] and [ḍ] are not often distinguished. (ḍ) is used regularly in the MS. for (d);
- (c) (a) in open syllables is often represented by [o];
- (d) for the suffix (-irèki), MS. regularly has [-èrèki];
- (e) (a) is used at the beginning and end, and in the middle of words to separate vowels.

(iii) The transcription has been given verse and canto numbers.

(iv) A Variae Lectiones follows the transcription. Where amendments have been made to the MS., there appears an asterisk which refers to the Variae Lectiones.

(v) Comments on metre are placed as footnotes to the text. A summary of metres used, with notes, is placed after the transcription.

(vi) An English summary of the transcription is appended.

CANTO I

Metre: Asmaradana

1 Kasmaran samja* ring galih
galihé* pekir kang nisṭa
saking sru sanget papané
kinundjara nèng Samarang
mangkja sengsem ing drija
amurwa lelakonipun*
pangéran Dipanegara.

2 Ḍuk harsa mangun agami*
ngrata ing rat tanah Djawa
tjarita puniku wité
anurun kagunganira
nenggih Mangunsubrata
mister Djawa kang linuhung
pilenggah nagri Samarang.

3 Mangunsubrata ingkang wit
dènnja anurun tjarita
babad Dipanegarané
mas bèhi Suranegara
patih dibja ing Samarang
kang kagungan babonipun
babad Serat Dipanegara.

4 Nalika murwa ing kawi
mangun langening tjarita
ing senèn legi wantjiné
tigang sijang tanggalira
sangalikur kang wulan
rabingulakir kang tahun
halip ing mangsa katiga.

5 Djulung* pudjut wukunèki
sengkalané tanah Djawa
tata lawang adjaring wong

mas bèhi Suranegara
dènnja nurun tjarita
dyan dipati ing pilungguh
ing negara Purwaredja.

6 Kang mangké radèn dipati
pan sampun djinundjung deradjat
kumpeni* kang nglahiraké
tuwan besar ing Néderlan
wit sawabing luhur baga
saking rama miwah ibu
kasertan takdiring Allah.

7 Mila [ta][1] kang tjarita mangkin
dyan dipati langkung wirja
dumugi barang karsané
hédjrah nabi dipun étang
sirna* tasik [a]ran[2] ningrat
menggah ing sengkala Djawa.[3]

8 Bumi ardi resi sidji
ing mangké amangun kanḍa
nagri Mentaram kanḍané
inggih nagari Ngajogja
pradja geng tanah Djawa
ri kala katekan bendu
saking Allahutangallah.

9 Angin ageng kang nḍatengi
hudan adres pantjawara
peteng sanegara kabèh
gelap ngampar-ngampar* pura
swarané adjeguran
tigang dinten tigang dalu
gègèré langkung pujengan.

[1]Line has one syllable too many. Omit [ta].
[2]Line e has one syllable too many. Omit [a].
[3]Preceding line f missing.

10 Kadya gabah dèn interi
gègèré sadjroning pradja
ing Mentaram sadajané
anenggih kala semana
sagung para ulama
para panḍita gung-agung
pangulu sakantjanira.

11 Kinèn adedonga sami
mring Allah kang sipat rahman
anaa ing masdjid geḍé
sagungé para ulama
[a]mrih[1] sirnané kang bahja
pantjawara ingkang ḍawuh
nanging kang para panḍita

12 Pangulu ulama mukti
mukmin tuwin santri lumrah
tanpa hasil pandongané
awit saking gunging dosa
tan ana kang katrima
sababé kjai pangulu
mung mikir sjahawat* ningkah.

13 Pinareng praptané tekdir
mila negri naranata
ing Ngajogja* sang akatong
kabur binuwang ing sabrang
ingkang putra gumantya
djumeneng ratu linuhung
djudjuluk djeng Sunan Radja.

14 Nanging* duraka ing Malik
sabab angrabasèng rama
dadya tan tulus djenengé
pan sampun kagungan putra

---
1 Omit [a] for metre.

kekalih sami prija
nanging putra ingkang sepuh
midjil saking ing ampéjan.

15 Punika sepuh pribadi*
djeng pangran Dipanegara
ingkang djungdjung ing ramané
dènira djumeneng sultan
naléndra ing Mentaram
déné putra padminipun
Radèn Mas Bagus Suradja.

16 Djenengira sri Bupati
Naléndra Radjèng Mentaram
sampun tetep keratoné
keraos welas mring putra
ingkang sepuh pribadya
kaja ngapa awakingsun
jèn tjidra mring kaki putra.

17 Kang putra gja dèn timbali
wus prapta bjantarèng rama
kang rama lon ngandikané
Hèh ṭolé Dipanegara
kadipatèn lungguhana
ing saiki karsaningsun
manira pasrah ing sira.

18 Manira pan uwis djandji
ija ḍawuh marang sira
jèn sun wis djumeneng katong
kulup sira kang sun angkat
madeg pangran dipatya
sabab ta arinirèku
maksih raré durung bisa.

19 L[aw]an[1] maning sira kaki
atmadjaningsun kang tuwa

---

[1]Line has one syllable too few. Add [aw].

nora nana timbangané
dasar ingangkat maring wang
radjaputra mijarsa
timbalanira sang prabu
kumembeng midjil kang waspa.

20 Tan saged sabil ing galih
waspa adres ingusapan
nerpaputra lon aturé
megap-megap menggak waspa
nembah nungkemi pada
mung kang kèsṭi djroning kalbu
lelakon ingkang sarira.

21 Keraos ing nguni-uni
dosa gung sun maring Allah
pepati luwih akèhé
marga awit saking ingwang
ingkang dadi djalaran
dadi dom sumurup ing banju
sun tepung lawan Welanda.

22 Narpaputra matur aris
mangusap lebu suku sang
kang rama mengkul djanggané
mjat kang putra asungkawa
djeng pangran aturira
aḍuh rama sang Aprabu
kawula matur* sandika.

23 Timbalan dalem Ramadji
kapunḍi wonten mustaka
nanging ta panuwuningsun[1]
jaji bagus djumenenga
nama Putrandipatya
lila kawula satuhu
ing donja praptèng delahan.

---

[1]Wrong vowel ending; should be é,o.

24 Kawula mung mramugari
kang rama lon angandika
senadyan mengkana anggèr
mulunga teka ing sira
mungguh djeneng manira
luwara ubajaningsun
kulup lawan djenengira.

25 Tan ana ing nguni-uni
naléndra tjidra ubaja
jekti dahuru djagaté
nemu dosa rong prakara
donja prapteng akérat
pesṭi nemu kukum agung
puniku ugering nata.

26 Jèn anaa ratu gingsir
pinesṭi jèn akir djaman
kulup puniku dalilé
kang putra atur prasetya
jèn tan lamis-lamisa
aturipun mring sang prabu
dènnja rila mring arinja.

27 Kang rama suka ing galih
sru sanget sokur ing Allah
agung mudji mring putrané
lelabuhané anakingwjang[1]
mirsané duwé kadang
wekasan ngandika arum
ja kulup sakarsanira.

28 Jèn mengkono suta mami
sira amilia désa
kang dadya senengmu anggèr
kang akèh pametunira

---

1 Line contains one syllable too many.

lawan ingkang prajoga
nerpaputra nembah matur
kadar pinten tijang gesang.

29 Kaṭah kedik anjekapi
mung sok ginandjar panrima
tetep ginandjar tangaté
maring Allahutangallah
kang [a]rama[1] lon [a]ngandika[2]
sun èstoken sira kūlup
muga Allah ṅjatosakna.

30 Kang rama lon ngandika ris
hèh kulup atmadjaningwang
wus mul[i]ja[3] sira anggèr
manira aparing pirsa
kulup maring Welanda
jèn uwis lila sirèku
arinira kang madega.

31 Djeng putra nembah nuljamit
lèngsèr saking arsèng rama
djeng Sunan Radja nuljagé
ḍawuh akarja asurat
marang Djéndral Buntermas
sang bupati tjarik gupuh
nuwala pan sampun dadya.

32 Sigra parintah sang Adji
mring dipati Danuredja
tuwin pra sentana kabèh
éndjang kinèn magelaran
parintahira* sang Nata
dèn samekta sadajèku
sang nata arsa sinéba.

---

1 and 2
Two too many syllables; omit [a] before (rama) and before (ngandika).
3
Add [i] for metre; one too few syllables.

33 Datan kawarna ing latri
éndjang suraté sang Nata
wus tumamèng Lodji Geḍé
tinampan maring Buntermas
sigra dènnja sijaga
Buntermas sakantjanipun
buḍal séba magelaran.

34 Agungé wadya kumpeni
ingkang sami magelaran
[djedjel]-djedjel[1] akèhing wong
pepakan para sentana
tuwin radyan apatya
pra tuwan* para tumenggung
ngabèhi kaliwan demang.

35 Tanapi mantri lit-alit
alun-alun abelabar
Djendral Buntermas prapta[2]
lampah [ira][3] ladjeng masuk
tjunḍuk lawan sri Naléndra.

36 Sang Nata Prabu Mentawis
sigra midjil saking pura
kakanṭèn hasta lampahé
kelawan Djéndral Buntermas
praptané Sitibentar
sang Nata lenggahing ḍampar.[4]

37 Tuwan Djéndral lenggah kursi
lenggahing wadya wus tata
sang Nata ngandika alon

---

[1] Line c has two syllables too few. Duplication of (djedjel) is suggested.

[2] Preceding lines c and d are missing.

[3] Line f has two syllables too few; add (-ira).

[4] Preceding line f is missing.

mring tuwan Djéndral Buntermas
[lawan sakantjanira][1]
kang uwis pepak sedarum*
sentana tuwin najaka.

38 Pajo dawuhena aglis
putraningsun kaki putra
djumenenga kadipatèn[2]
Djéndral Buntermas tampa
surambi pepak sedarum*
merdikan sakantjanira

39 Semana dipun timbali
wus pepak nèng penangkilan
sampun pepak sedajané
pangulu sakantjanira
miwah para merdikan
pagelaran asupenuh
sigra sang Djéndral Buntermas

40 Lèngsèr dènira alinggih
mbopong mring Radjap[in]utra[3]
[Ra]dèn[4] Mas Bagus Suradjané
linenggahken kursi sigra
kéring Djéndral Buntermas
tuwan Djéndral nabda asru
hèh sagungé wong Mentaram.

41 Para sentana Mentawis
Ngajogjakartadiningrat
dyan dipati Danurdjané

---

[1]Line e missing in MS., [lawan sakantjanira] is suggested.
[2]Following line d missing.
[3]Line b has one syllable too many, omit [-in-].
[4]Line c has one syllable too many; omit [Ra].

tuwin kang para najaka
mjang wadya sedajanja
pradjurit salijanipun
èstokena udjaringwang.

42 Awiting dina puniki
putra nata ing Ngajogja
dèn Mas Bagus Suradjané
sun djundjung nama pangéran
kadipatèn lenggaha
sapa kang malanga iku
mumpung aku misih ana.

43 Sedaja asahur peksi
wadya bala ing Mentaram
angèstrèni sedajané
parintahnja* tuwan Djéndral
tan ana kang malanga
sedaja sareng umatur
lir pèndah grah mangsa kapat.

44 Aturé sami ngèstrèni
pangéran Dipanegara*
sagung padongané[1]
kang raji sampun pilenggah
kadipatèn pangéran
sanget sokur djroning kalbu
maring Allahutangallah.

45 Ki pangulu dèn ḍawuhi
andonga ngadeg kang putra
sakantja[né][2] ngadeg kabèh
pandonga ngadeg sang Nata

---

1 Line c is two syllables short.

2 MS. shows [sakantja<u>nira</u>] but this is one syllable too many.

andonga adeg kinarja
aminé lir gunung guntur
gumerah ing Sitibentar.

46 Tanapi paglaran sami
abarung kahormatan
kadya gugrag gunung kabèh
lwir tumangkeb kang angkasa
nanging kuwunging pradja
sakelangkung mamring samun
sebab pradja mentas rusak.

47 Kawarnaa sri Bupati
djengkar malebèng ing pura
kantèn hasta lan djéndralé
paglaran bubar sedaja
tan wonten djalma séba
sakonduré sang Prabu
samja mantuk sowang-sowang.

48 Djendrál Buntermas gja umidjil
saking pura nglodji prapti
tan winarna ing laminé
sigra pamitan kalilan
mantuk mring Batawijah
angkaté éndjing gumuruh
praptèng laut kudandangan.

<u>CANTO II</u>

Metre: Ḍanḍanggula

1 Kawarnaa sang Prabu Mentawis
Kangdjeng Radja ing Ngajogjakarta
sampun tetep keratoné
kumantjara* namanipun
semu mérang sadjroning galih
kaduwung ing pratingkah
sangsaja kagugu
kang rama binuwang Wlanda
marang Mantja ing Keḍu sabrang nagari
djinaluk mring Welanda.

2 Langkung ngungun prihatin djro galih
kaja prijé wekasané baja
ingsun mikul dosa geḍé
Allah ing kukumipun
ḍinawuhken marang ing mami
déné ingsun akarja
rusaking pradjèng[ing]sun[1]
pradjurit temah musakat
akèh mati awit saking karsa mami
nuruti ing tyas harda.

3 Selaminé djumeneng nerpati
kusut kuntjanira[2] negara
nora nana kukuwungé
ngungun-ngungun djro kalbu
ana keraos sumenging galih
kaja tan ora lawas
pandjenenganingsun
kotjapa nimbali putra
kang anama kangdjeng pangéran Dipati
praptèng arsané rama.

[1]MS. has [pradjèngingsun] which gives one syllable too many; delete [ing] to give [pradjèngsun].

[2]MS. shows [kuntjarané], making one syllable too few.

4 Nembah sumungkem pangéran Dipati
lon ngandika sang sri Naradipa
sun tutur mring sira anggèr
ingsun djumeneng ratu
anggentèni éjangirèki*
wus olèh ing rong warsa
lan sapuluh tèngsu
tyas manira tan kapénak
kepjar-kepjar lesu lupé* awak mami
ingsun ḍahar tan énak.

5 Ki Dipati sira sun tuturi
béndjang sira jèn umadeg nata
dèn abetjik susilané
mring kadangira sepuh
akèh-akèh amung sawidji
kangmu Dipanegara
dèn bisa amengku
gja nganti susah drijanja
poma-poma dèn éling wewekas mami
kang putra matur nembah.

6 Gih sandika sakelangkung kapunḍi
ḍawuh dalem djeng rama kang rentah
kang rama ngandika alon
hèh kulup kawruhanamu
kadipatèn puniki ḍingin
[ka]kangmu[1] Dipanegara
kulup djangdjiningsun
lamun ingsun madeg nata
kang sun angkat dadija pangran dipati
ngong warta purwanira.

7 Marmaningsun kulup aperdjangdji
lan kakangmu si Dipanegara
ija nggèr mula-mulané

[1] Line has one syllable too many. Delete [ka].

pan kakangirèku*
kang sun utus silem mring Lodji
harep tepung lan Welanda
dèn bekti sirèku
samengko kelakoningwang
madeg nata kakangmu lumuh ngenggoni
wus rila marang sira.

8 Nda tatita lingira ing uni
dènnja djumeneng sang radjèng Mentaram
tetep tri tahun laminé
tegar mring alun-alun
nitih kudo sri Narapati
ginerbeg* pra bijada
miwah para arum
duk antuk tiga ideran
sri naléndra sarira keraos sakit
gumeter riwé medal.

9 Sigra kondur* praptèng dalem puri
ladjeng gerah djeng sinuwun Sultan
kelangkung sanget gerahé
usada wantu-wantu
gerahira saja nglajadi
sang Nata ladjeng séda
kang tangis gumuruh
paring priksa mring Welanda
mjang sentana patih bupati geng alit
pra putra sampun pepak.

10 Sri manganti djedjel pra bupati
pra nijaka wus kerig* sedaja
mas pangulu tan asuwé
tumamèng djro kedatun
sakantjanira[1] ketib modin

[1]Line has one syllable too few. It is suggested that MS. [sakantjané] be amended to [sakantjanira].

tuwin para ulama
said sarip rawuh
sami ngagem djobah peṭak
jèn sinawang kadi kuntul munggèng sabin
atap anḍèr nèng bangsal.

11 Kadji Hédrim lurah para kadji
sanalika wus pepak sedaja
siniram bangsal sedaja
ṭandang anulja rampung
sinalat[a]ken[1] lajon sang Adji
sampun sinung salawat
werata [sedarum][2]
mas pangulu gangsal réjal
ketib anom salawaté tigang ringgit
ketib djadjar rorėjal.

12 Modinipun njeréjal weradin
kadji sami njeréjal sedaja
ulama sami salawaté
suranata sedarum
kaumipun para bupati
sedaja tan kliwatan
werata sedarum
pekir miskin mjang kasijan
ana keḍaton wonten sadjro nagari
sami tampi siḍekah.

13 Pra pradjurit ingkang sami santri
sami tampi salawat sedaja
andonga sukur rahmaté
modin sawidjinipun

[1]Delete [a] for metre.

[2]MS. has [pra kadji] which does not have correct final vowel ending [u]; [sedarum] is suggested. This same expression [werata sedarum] occurs in corresponding line g of verse 12.

datan seru njalumik ririh
begdja temen awakingwang
tampa nikmat agung
anak ngong wus telung dina
saben dinten dènnja nangis djaluk bukti
ingsun bisa sungakna.

14 Tanpa tutur mring kantja guja mulih
lampah anglangak sigra-sigra
sareng prapta ing wismané
rabiné lagi lungguh
pernahira nèng srambi djawi
sigra wau pinaran
sinanding alungguh
wong wadon lah ana begdja
kangdjeng Sultan séda salawaté ringgit
puniki sun atampa.

15 Ringgit sampun tinampan kang éstri
mèsem-mèsem kang wadon atampa
wong lanang kaliwat gedé
rahmat ingkang dumawuh
awit saking ratu ngemasi
kang wadon sigra mangkat
marang kamar gupuh
lampahira sigra-sigra
tanpa kemben kopèké akoplak-kaplik*
atipis kadi ilat.

16 Lanangira ngutjap ngudubillahi
ja wong iku kaja anak sétan
nora lumrah lan wong akèh
kang wadon glis lumaju
maring warung atumbas bukti
kotjap lajoning nata
kinapapanan sampun
djinabela* gja umangkat
pan ingiring sagungé para pradjurit
ing wingking miwah ngarsa.

17 Ki pangulu sakantjané ngiring
tan kawarna wau wonten marga
ing djimatan prapta agé
ja ta ladjeng kinubur
tan adangu wus bubar mulih
kotjapa djroning pura
éwuh* sakeḍatun
lawas dènnja ngarsa-arsa
rawuhipun surat saking ing Batawi
dutané tuwan Djéndral.

18 Pan antara kalihdasa latri
surat prapta sangking Batawijah
sarta lawan utusané
hurmat pating djalegur
mrijemira awanti-wanti
tan kotjap laminira
Ngajogjakartèku*
djinedjeran sampun tata*
soma manis adegé pangéran dipati
gumanti ingkang rama.

19 Ing tahun Djim sengkalané Djawa
telu warnani[rè]ng[1] resi ningrat*
kangdjeng sultan djumenengé
djudjuluk Sultan Bagus
amengkoni nagri Mentawis
Sénapati Ingalaga
mulja djenengipun
asih bekti mring kang raka
asring teḍak wau sira sri Bupati
ḍumateng Sélaradja.

20 Ingkang raka pan semanten ugi
lami-laminé rongpuluh dina

---
[1] Add syllable [rè] for metre.

panggijan lawan ariné
pangran Mangkubumiku
datan mawi sumelang galih
tulus momong kéwala
wus tunggal sakajun
lan pangran Dipanegara
kawarnaa sang Nata Prabu Mentawis
pan mèh birahi sanḍang.

21 Ingkang ibu dènira sih
pan ingugung ing sakarsanira
dèn suprih aglis agengé
sagung ing putri aju
ingkang maksih rumadja putri[1]
kinèn tutwuri mring putra
embanira kinèn sami amuruki
marang djeng sri Naranata.

22 Pratikelé mokal Nata resmi
tan winarna ing solah mangkana
mangkja tjinenḍak kanḍané
solah[ira][2] sang Prabu
amisuwur gumrah ing warti
kang raka amijarsa
jèn mangké sang Prabu
ing sijang dalu mengkana
awit saking kang ibu karsanirèki
djeng pangran langkung tikbra.

23 Matur surat mring kang ibu aglis
tjarakèstri kang bekta nuwala
sinaosken ing ibuné
praptané ing keḍatun

---

1 Following lines f and g missing in MS.

2 MS. has [solahé] which leaves one syllable too few; [solahira] is suggested.

kangdjeng ratu ingkang nampèni
kang ibu kangdjeng Sultan
gja binuka gupuh
sinukmèng [ing][1] sadjroning drija
tembungipun sembah kawula sajekti
kahundjuk ing pada sang

24 Kangdjeng ibu sori ing djro puri
wijosipun pan sampun mangkana
karsa paduka amomong
dumateng jaji prabu
tan prajogi ingkang pinanggih
menggah djenenging nata
dèn ardjané laku*
pinanggih béndjang delahan
anèng donja tamtu letuh kang nagari
karja deladjating pradja.

25 Mila sampun paduka adjani
jaji prabu ing lampah duraka
jaji prabu maksih raré
titi sumaos putus
surat sigra dipun wangsuli
sinungken batur inggal
medal sing kedatun
tan winarna lampahira
duta prapta Tegalredja surat aglis
sinaosken pangéran.

26 Gja binuka tembungé kang tulis
ingkang ibu pan sampun sumagah
nda tatita ing laminé
wau ta sang Prabu[2]

---

1 Delete [ing] for metre.

2 Line d is one syllable short.

lamun dalu tan saged guling
tansah teḍak nèng latar
mangkana kang ibu
anjaosi ḍeḍaharan
mwang wowohan ingkang adi warni-warni
panakawan kang djaga.

27 Pan terkaḍang sang Prabu taruni
pinarakan anèng ing bangsal[1]
kaḍang kalangen mring kebon
kaḍang sadjro keḍatun
taman sinung bangsal lit-alit
lan médja leladjuran
ingkang ibu ngugung
linémék babut kang médja
kaḍang maring geḍogan mirsa turanggi
mangkana lama-lama.

28 Pan kelawun-[lawun][2] agengé sang Adji
wus diwasa semana akrama
ingkang pinunḍut* putrané
tetilaré karuhun*
Danuredja radèn Dipati
kang séda nèng kedatyan*[3]
ḍinusṭa* sang Prabu
ginalih Malik tingal[4]
tilar putra pawèstri aju linuwih
ginarwa sri Naléndra.

---

[1] Line b is one syllable short.

[2] Delete [-lawun] for metre.

[3] MS. has [kedatyèn] which has wrong final vowel ending [a]; [kedatyan] is suggested.

[4] Line has one syllable too few.

29 Nak ing sanak panggihé sang Adji
wusnja krama kangdjeng sri Naléndra
anunggal* sakarsané[1]
ja mangkana sang Prabu
ja ta sami ati mangrukti
mangkana wusnja dadya
parintah sang Prabu
sagungé kang wadya bala
kinèn sami manganggé tjara Welandi
Ketanggung lawan Njutra.

30 Mantri djero l[aw]an[2] Midjipilih
Suranata Wirabradja lawan[3]
Bradjanata Manḍung akèh*
lamun besijar sang Prabu[4]
sami kinèn angiring-iring
nganggo tjara Welanda
wadya kalihatus
lamun sang Nata mbesijar
satus ngarsa ingkang satus munggèng wuri
ginar[e]beg[5] ponang rata.

31 Lawan malih parintah nerpati
djroné bètèng dipun adjar-adjar
dèn kampung-kampung wismané
tinata ladjur-ladjur
sinukanan tunggak* kang margi

---

1 Line c has one syllable too few.

2 Line a has one syllable too few. Suggest add [-aw] to lan to give lawan.

3 MS. shows [nata] lawan. [nata] omitted because too many syllables. Note Bradjanata in line c: copyist may have confused Wira<u>bradja</u> in line b with this and written Wirabradja[nata].

4 Line has one syllable too many.

5 Line has one syllable too many. Delete [e] giving [ginarbeg].

sinipat rantjang kang marga[1]
nora kinabengkung
sanadyan wisma lan karang
jèn katradjang ing rata kinèn angalih
binubrah sanalika

32 Wit kerambil tuwin salijaning
kaṭah sami ingkang tinegoran
wit katradjang ratan geḍé
sadjawi bètèng hadjur
Suranatan abosah-basih
wong tjilik sami susah
kèh kang sami muwus
puniki ratu punapa
teka nora ngéman susahé wong tjilik
ngalamat tan rahardja.

33 Éndjang mijos sang sri Narapati
nitih rata kang timang kentjana
murub* muntjar udjwalané
liḍah umurub berung*
ngadjeng wingking para pradjurit
nanḍer lampahé rata
kadya angin laut
ing ngadjeng pradjuritira
kaṭah ingkang runtuh saking ing turanggi
ngantya wonten kang pedjah.

34 Wit kapipis ing rata lumaris
kang sawenèh ingidak turangga
kaṭah pradjurit kapatèn
wonten wadya umatur
duh gustiku sang Maha Adji
wadyanta kaṭah papa
kang sawenèh lampus
awit rentah saking kuda

---
1 Line has one syllable too many.

ladjeng kéles panggiling tuwin turanggi*
sang Nata amijarsa.

35 Tan pinirsa aturé kang ḍasih
saben dina sang Nata besijar
ngubengi bètèng keḍaton
sagung wadya nom sepuh
ingkang ḍèrèk ing saben ari
tan wonten towong [dina][1]
ingkang sami runtuh
kuwalik saking turangga
ladjeng kéles kaṭah pradjurit kang gering
wit tiba saking kuda.

36 Saking sanget banter lampahnèki
kuda [ing]kang[2] rada kenḍo sandernja
pesṭi dèn idak ing akèh
saben dina sang Prabu
karsanira sang Nata plesir
pradjurit sami susah
tyasnja kaṭah mupus
jèn sampun ḍawuh ing pura
sri Naléndra lenggah ladjeng nginum sloki*
tan kena ketowongan.

37 Nora pisan mikir gawé betjik
[a]mung[3] ngugung ing sasukanira
béda sang Nata karsané
lan para ratu-ratu
kang utama ing nguni-uni

---

1 MS. has [ari] which gives line f the wrong final vowel. [Dina] is suggested. The copyist seems to have copied [ari], which has the same meaning as [dina] from the end of the preceding line.

2 Delete ing for metre.

3 Add [a] for metre.

mung kang dadya tyasira
telengé tyas[-tyas][1] prabu
bekti taklim mring kang raka
mung puniku sang Nata tan lali-lali
mituhu saḍawuhnja.

38 Nora nana kang dipun kéḍepi
mung kang raka pangran Dipanegara[2]
dèn pituhu sawulangé
mangkana kang winuwus
djeng pangéran Dipanegari
kang manggung among brata
sijang [miwah][3] dalu
tan pegat dènira ngodjrat
mung jèn kemis kondurira sang apekik
inggal* wangsul mring pernah.

39 Ing panepèn wau ta sang pekik
salat luka ing sabakdanira
ladjeng aderes kurané
saben dina sang bagus
datan mawi towong sahari
wonten ing Sélaradja
dènira pitekur
panepèné radjaputra
pinapantes kinoṭak kang taman sari
asri kang petamanan.*

40 Andong abang [lawan][3] andong wilis
andong dadu lawan andong surat
sinelang-selang tan tjeré*

---

1 Omit [tyas] for metre.

2 Line has one syllable too many.

3 Add miwah for metre.

4 Add [lawan] for metre.

puring lan djadjaripun
kaji rukmi mjang worawari
ngeregung ngideri gilang[1]
sri apan dinulu*
warnané kang kaju emas
wonten kaju kemuning langkung respati
kèderan ing balumbang.

41 Mina wader brang-brangen [anèng][2] ing warih
sugun-sugun angaḍep gustinja
ngodjrat munggèng gilang nggoné
matja Kuran sang bagus
swara renjah arum amanis
kèndelé matja Kuran
anulja sang bagus
patakulmuluk winatja
tjaritané para ratu dingin-dingin
ingkang sami utama.

42 Anèng donja tumeka ing akir
teka ènget ri sang nerpaputra
marang solahé ariné
ḍuh lahé jaji prabu
rahmat geḍé dèn orak-arik
nanging ta jaji nata
maksih muḍa iku
lamun ngrungu tjarita*[3]
pesṭi ingsun tinutuh ngajunan béndjing
jèn nora sunga warah.

43 Iki ana tjaritané maning
raṭu ingkang tjenḍak juswanira
saja kagugu drijané

[1] Line has one syllable too many.

[2] Omit [anèng] for metre.

[3] Line has one syllable too few.

kaḍang ngong jaji prabu
dosa geḍé kang dèn lakoni
pira bara akérat
mung panedaningsun
ing donja baé awèta
madeg nata terus adjenengirèki
adja na kara-kara.

44 Djeng pangéran kanḍek maosnèki
geḍé temen dosané ariningwang[1]
temahan midjil waspané
ḍuh-aḍuh jaji prabu
kaja-kaja wus mertanḍani
tan awèt madeg nata
amengku Mentarum
barang tingkah solahira
lamun nora jaji prabu amarèni
karsané arda sugal.*

45 Djeng pangéran sigra nurat aglis
sinungaken tjaraka gja mangkat*
surat katur sang akatong
datan kawarnèng hena
lampahira tjaraka prapti
tjunḍuk ing arsa nata
kang serat pinundut
binuka sinukmèng drija
osiking tyas ingsun iki dèn blakani
ija marang kakang mas.

46 Sapa maning kang mirma mring mami
lijaning kangmas Dipanegara
wadjib muruka maring ngong
sigra midjil sang Prabu
amung bekta wong kawandasi

---
[1] Line has one syllable too many.

tanpa busana éndah
luwas kang rinasuk
tan adangu anèng marga
lampahira ing Sélaradja wus prapti
kang raka metuk lawang.*

47 Sesalaman kantèn hasta prapti
sami lenggah anèng ing gegilang*
sangandapé djenar nggoné
kang raka ngandika rum
pramilané ta jaji Adji
ngong aturi tedaka
mariki puniku
ngong dingin amatja kitab
si Patakulmuluk* tjaritanirèki
ratu begdja lan tjilaka.[1]

48 Jaji prabu kersakena iki
sun watjané tjaritané kitab
mungguh dalil lan maknané
solahé ratu-ratu
djaman kuna ana nerpati[pati][2]
pan iku negara[nja][3]
gung keratonipun
karja gung amangun suka
lali maring ing gusti Rasulngalamin
mung manggung suka-suka.

49 Nora sokur rahmat ingkang prapti
saking Allah ingkang sipat rahman
ngugung nepsu karepané
ing sijang miwah dalu

---

1 Line has one syllable too many.

2 Delete [pati] for metre.

3 Add [nja] for metre.

gegamelan mrih sukèng galih
beksa lawan beḍajan
tuwin mangan nginum
ratu tan mikir agama
ambek suka kerep ambeḍah nagari
kaṭah ingkang djadjahan.

50 Ameng-ameng ngideri nagari
pan ingiring sagung wadya bala
tuwin para bijadané
kang anom aju-aju
dèn anggoni kang adi-adi
kondur sang radjèng apan*
prapta ing keḍatun
ana kuda bagus prapta
wulu hidjo jèn pinirsa balerengi
sang Nata langkung suka.

51 Kinèn njepeng tutuk kang turanggi
kinambilan pan anut kéwala
kuda tan ana polahé
sigra nitih sang Prabu
kiniterken sadjroning puri
djaran mesat mring tawang
kagawa sang Prabu
nuli kiriga ponang kuda[1]
prabu apan kontal dènira anitih
tiba ladjeng pralina.

52 Srira* hadjur ketanggor ing tjuri
prunggu sari jaji tjurinira
wonten ingkang kotjap manèh
ing Adjam ana ratu
ratu iku tan mikir betjik
kasukan saben dina

---

[1] Line has one syllable too many.

anuruti nepsu
semana nudju[-nudju][1] semuwan
sri Naléndra animbali pra bupati
wusnja* pepak sadaja

53 Satengahé mangan nginum sami
ana angin agung prapta[2]
kagila-gila geḍéné
sarta swara djumegur
peteng ḍeḍet sadjro negari
gempur kaḍaton sirna
ginawa ing lésus
dalasan punggawanira
sirna larut kabèh katut déning angin
tiba saparan-paran.

54 Djeng pangéran angandika aris
jaji prabu dèn ènget tjarita
abot wang kang madeg katong
kang raji matur nuwun
pan karaos sadjroning galih
sinenḍu mring kang raka
ing sakarsanipun
pamit kondur linilanan
prapta pura wau ta sri Narapati
galihé semang semana.[3]

55 Mring kang raka owah lan ing uni
éndjangipun sang Nata besijar
nora suḍa sakarsané
Tegalredja winuwus
djeng pangéran undang mring abdi
kinèn sami ngibadah
sapa-sapa iku
nora nglakoni ibadah
pan tinunḍung wismané dèn obrak-abrik
nadyan sepuh anoma.

[1] Delete [-nudju] for metre.
[2] Line has two syllables missing.
[3] Line has one syllable too many.

CANTO III

Metre: Sinom

1 Pangéran Dipanegara
tan pegat amangun téki
ing guwa Silarong gonnja
winangun dèn busanani
sri kinarja nenepi
pangéran ngodjrat nèng ngriku
pangran karem tirakat
Pemantjingan asring nepi
Parang Wédang tanapi Parang Kusuma.

2 Pituwin guwa Suléman
njamar* amung bekta raré kalih[1]
tuwin nggèn kang sama-sama
kinarja panggonan nepi
kabèh turut pasisir
tanapi ing gunung Kidul
mring guwa Sura Lanang
ing Sarungga gunung prapti
lamun kondur ndjudjug lenggah Sélaradja.

3 Tan arsa ngagem kang pélag
njamping wulung badjo laking
ratu walekang dèn angkat
jèn pareng karsané malik
tan pisan nggalih mukti
wibawané wus kalimput
saking kareming odjrat
lamun dahar sang apekik
nora tamtu kataman* pendak sawulan.

---

1 Line has two syllables too many.

4 Puniku mung sapulukan
kaḍang penḍak kalih sasi
uga amung sapulukan
kerep-kerepé jèn bukti
penḍak samadya sasi
mangkana tjiptaning kalbu
pira lawas nèng dunja
destun lawas kalihtus warsi[1]
ing akérat tahuné tanpa wilangan.

5 Amung kang kèsṭi wardaja
ing bésuk jèn ingsun mati
adja nganti gènḍong dosa
jèn tjilaka djroning pati
sapa ingkang nulungi
ana ing neraka bésuk
siksané tumpa-tumpa
wus dèn udjaring dalil[2]
laku ardja mupangat sadjroning pedjah.

6 Wau ta kangdjeng pangéran
nimbali kang abdi-abdi
kinèn sami darus Kuran
jèn bakda pinaring bukti
langkung kurmat sang pekik
marang sagung para kaum
laminé pan mangkana
langkung asih pekir meskin
wong mukarim anak jatim ingingonan.

7 Asidekah datan pegat
marang sagung pekir meskin
lamun ana djalma prapta
pamit kadji dèn sangoni

---

1 Line has one syllable too many.

2 Line has one syllable too few.

kang kèsṭi djroning galih
kautaman kang dèn gajuh
donja praptèng delahan
tan gingsir raosing galih
lelakoné ratu wali kang kaétang.

8 Kang sami tampi nugraha
tumindak laku utami
nèng akérat tampi swarga
ingkang adi luwih-luwih
laminé tanpa wilis
langgenging salaminipun
tan nganggo nggenḍong dosa*
jèn tinrima tobatèki
lawan nora nedyaa mbalèni [gawé][1] dosa.

9 Lamun nora nglakonana
saparintahé djeng Nabi
langgeng kekel nèng neraka
nora mati nora hurip
djeng pangran langkung adjrih
jèn kekel nèng neraka bésuk[2]
kotjap kangdjeng pangéran
mangilèn lampahirèki
nabrang Praga guwa Upas kang sinaba.*

10 Tanpa tjipta tindakira
kang nḍèrèk amung wong sidji*
kang nama Djajamustapa
datan kawarna ing margi
ing Keḍu rong wus prapti
wong bumi ngandikan gupuh
nganterna marang guwa
tan adangu nulja prapti
kinèn wangsul wong roro nèng djaban guwa.

[1]Line has two too many syllables. Suggest delete [gawé].
[2]Line has one extra syllable.

11 Ladjeng sami mandjing guwa
langkung sungil ingkang margi
ja ta anglangsur kéwala
mèh sesak tan sedeng djalmi
pineksa nékad mandjing
karsané sang radjasunu
nglangsuré rada tebah
tigang depa winatawis
prapta ing djro luwih djembar ponang guwa.

12 Gumrèndjèng swaraning toja
ageng hilining kang warih
toja srep kaliwat-liwat
marinding marang ing kulit
pangran èmeng kang galih
wus pinarak radjasunu
nulja angambil toja
kang dasih arsa ngabekti
salat sokur narima rahmating Allah.

13 Tinitah wonten ing donja
wadjib sokuring Maliki
sukur nikmat sinung gesang
angen-angen lawan budi
karenteg kalawan sir
narima saking rahmanu
mobah meneng sedaja
Allah ingkang karja jekti
sedjatiné manusa sarta nugraha.

14 Déné abdiné satunggal
kang ndèrèk tan kénging tebih
nèng wuri kinèn amatja
ngapalena surat Ja Sin
laminira anenggih
pitung dinten pitung dalu

sawus[nja][1] salat kadjat
adedonga sang apekik
maring Allah anenuwun pangapura.

15 Pineng rasa djro werdaja
panuwunira sang pekik
dènira nuwun apura
dosané kang wus kawuri
nangis tobating galih
histigparé [wantu-wantu][2]
sawusira histigpar
ping satus antaranèki
linḍu obah linḍu obah kaja gograk.

16 Memedi sadjroning guwa
swara djumegur melingi
peteng ḍeḍet djroning guwa
paḍas tiba lir gurimis
nanging datan kaèksi
sawab peteng sakelangkung
guwa kadi tangkeban*
miris ing tyas sang apekik
geter* ing tyas sang pangran lali mring Allah.

17 Kaweḍar* dènnja neneda
ngadjak medal sang apekik
wong roro nglangsur kéwala
sapraptanira ing djawi
tjiptané sang apekik
maksih obah sitinipun
ngungun éram ing drija
bumi lir ginondjang-gandjing
salaminé dèrèng wrin kaja mangkana.

---

1 Line g has one syllable too few. Suggest add [-nja] to give [sawusnja].

2 MS. has [wanti-wanti] which gives wrong vowel ending. Suggest [wantu-wantu].

18 Ngandika sang radjaputra
tyasingsun kaliwat miris
Djamustapa mau apa
memedi anggegilani
tyasingsun nora sabil
menawa katiban watu
pesṭi lamun melarat
awakira lawan mami
pramulané djenengingsun kebat medal.

19 Sajekti sun lawan sira
nèng djro guwa bareng mati
jèn mangkana iki guwa
angkeré kepati-pati
Dja[ja]mustapa[1] turnja ris
mila gusti wastanipun
winastanan guwa Upas[2]
purwané ingkang rumijin
wonten djalma pedjah kepanggih pan sampun lungkrah.[3]

20 Mung kantun balung kéwala
menawi pedjahé gusti
manusa* kang tengga guwa
ngandika sang radjasiwi
mau apa memedi
atiku kaliwat gumjur
kuwatir uwas-uwas
Djajamustapa turnja ris
raos kula pan dédé tjobaning sétan.

21 Lan punika dédé guwa*
lan malih dédé memedi
lepat kulaa merdika

---

[1] Line e has one syllable too many. Omit [-ja-].

[2] Line g has one syllable too many.

[3] Line i has two syllables too many.

nuwun apuntening gusti
punika* tanḍanèki
katrima tobat sang bagus
dosa kang wus kalampahan[1]
djer paduka duk ing nguni
nanḍang dosa geng ḍateng Allahutangallah.[2]

22 Ngandika sang narpaputra
ija ingsun duk karijin
wus rumasa nanḍang dosa
lir gunung dosa mami*[3]
bareng ingsun krep ngadji
wruh sun jèn nanḍang dosa gung
marma saiki ingwang
poma djangga* awak mami
dèn obonga kaja banteningwang.*[4]

23 Guneman sarwi lumampah
Djajamustapa nèng wuri
sareng bjar prapta Praga
munḍut prau nabrang nuli
teḍak sing palwa singgih
lampahira manḍek mangu
kagagas ing wardaja
wirangé kepati-pati
jèn tjinunḍuk lawan surasaning Kitab.

24 Sangsaja sanget ruditya
tyasira sang radjasiwi
déné wedi lawan sétan
sanget kaduwung ing galih[5]

[1] Line g has one syllable too many.
[2] Line i has one syllable too many.
[3] Line d has one syllable too few.
[4] Line i has two syllables too few.
[5] Following line e missing from MS.

kaduwung ing galihipun
getun kaja matia
Djajamustapa
jèn gustiné tyasira sanget sungkawa.

25 Nanging tan wikaning karsa
dadya mrih* ledjaring gusti
Djajamustapa tjarita
ḍingin wonten ratu salih*
remen angalap ngèlmu[1]
temah sang Nata ngguguru
[mring][2] panḍita utama
agentur tapa sang jogi
nagarané ing Sabur sang maharadja.

26 Barang wulanging panḍita
sang nata Sabur mèstuti
sanget tobat maring Allah
tan nijat sultan mbalèni
dosa kang nguni-uni
binanter ing tobatipun
aran tobat nasoka
tinrima tobatirèki
ladjeng kusuk pan boten njimpang ing sarak.

27 Gara-gara ageng prapta
tanḍané ratu prihatin
katrima paneḍanira
bumi gendjot gondjang-gandjing
ḍungkar kang sélaardi
udan angin lir pinusus
kali gung bandjir banḍang
pinggir kali nora gempil
tanḍa ratu ingapura dosanira.

---
1 Line e has wrong vowel ending: should be [i].

2 MS. has [marang] which is one syllable too many: [mring] is suggested.

28 Dana mintir saking pura
binagé mring pekir miskin
djeng pangran mèsem ngandika
jèn mangkana dudu iblis
muga benera ugi
udjar kang mangkana iku
tan winarna [a]nèng[1] marga
lampahira sampun prapti
Sélaradja pepak ingkang para putra.

29 Nda tatita sampun lama
kawarna Sultan Mentawis
éndjang mijosi besijar
kersa angubengi biting
pepak para pradjurit
kang tjaos nḍèrèk sang Prabu
alun-alun pungkuran
datan dangu sri Bupati
mijos kanḍeg nèng Sitibentar sakeḍap.

30 Tan dangu anulja teḍak
sang Nata saking Sitinggil*
patjara wangsul sedaja
para arum ingkang ngampil
sang Nata sampun nitih
nèng ngebak lenggah sang Prabu
kréta sigra lumampah
kang nḍèrèk sampun miranti
satus ngarsa satus wuri nitih kuda.

31 Rata mamprung lir maruta
wingking wadya anututi
kang ngarsa kapelak rata
wonten pradjurit sawidji
kudané kuru alit

---

[1] Line g has one extra syllable. Suggest delete [a-].

punika didalem mandung
tiba saking turangga
ketanggor tiba kuwalik
balung pepes dèn rerampa* kantjanira.

32 Kuda pangiriding rata
njander njongklang kadi angin
katah tudung kang kasingsal
suka mijat sri Bupati
tingkahé pra pradjurit
wenèh ngirijab rikmanipun
ing solah kutétéran
kelangkung suka sang Adji
wusnja tepong* ladjeng malbèng pura.

33 Lukar badjo gja pinarak
mundut siram sri (o)prabu[1]
linadosan pra bijada
kang sami aju linuwih
lir péndah widadari
kang sapepek madyanipun
sampunnja dènnja siram
ageganda burat wangi
amrik minging lir keratoné buwana.

34 Gja pinarak prabajeksa
dèn ajaping para putri
amirapit kéring kanan
ingkang ibu datan tebih
nijaga dèn dawuhi
gamelan tinabuh umjung
swarané kang gamelan
njenjed manisnja njut ati
nganjut-anjut anglir ngalapena djiwa.

---

1 Line b has one syllable too few. Suggest [A-] before (prabu).

35 Tinembangan para ḍanjang
swara rum renjah tur manis
kabarung lawan gamelan
langkung suka sri Bupati
munḍut ḍahar sang Adji
nulja linadosan gupuh
saosan saking ndjaba
saking pangran Mangkubumi
pan punika ḍaharan saking kang rama.

36 Nulja ḍahar sri Naléndra
tan pikantuk dènnja bukti
sadangunira aḍahar
semang-semang djroning galih
semana matur aris
sang Nata marang kang ibu
ḍuh ibu kados napa
lesu lupé*awak mami
dènnja matur paṇ sarwi anggajuh ulam.

37 Ulam taksih wonten lésan
andjungkel sri Narapati
wedana nungkemi adjang
tan émut ladjeng ngemasi
tan waged mobah mosik
lir sata sinamber wulung
kang ibu kagèt ndjola
kang putra tjinenḍak aglis
sanalika napasira sampun musna.

38 Lir gerah sadjroning pura
gumuruh swarané tangis
kebat bjat* paring periksa
mring Tegalredja mwang Lodji
sentana pra bupati
pangran Dipanegarèku
prapta lajon siningkab
Resiḍèn anulja prapti
ponang lajon arsa binelèk wentisnja.

39 Djeng pangran asru ngungunnja
kumembeng kang waspa midjil
alon dènira ngandika
puluh-puluh jaji Adji
tan nggugu udjar mami
samengko iki tinemu
tan pandjang juswanira
tan tjidra udjaring dalil
ratu Islam jèn duraka juswa tjinenḍak.*[1]

40 Pasṭi dèn matur sentana
jogi binelèk tumuli
jèn èstu kénging ing wisa*
puniku supados midjil
sarta lawan djedjampi
jèn wisa puniku metu
waluja waged gesang
djeng pangéran tan marengi
gja mangkana mupus* wus karsané Allah.

41 Jaji prabu uwis séda
djisimé ananḍang kanin
inggih-inggih lamun gesang
sadyanja sukaning galih
binelèk tan nguripi
tulus mati nanḍang tatu
paḍa nrimané djalma
pinupus wus praptèng djangdji
ingkang ibu adreng nuruti Welanda.

42 Sedaja anut kéwala
ing karsané ibu sori
kang lajon binelèk sigra
ing wentis pernah kang kéring
rahira datan midjil

[1] Line i has one syllable too many.

sedaja sami gegetun
kang ibu ndjerit karuna[1]
kaduwung solahirèki
dangu-dangu mupus wus karsané Allah.

43 Lajon sigra siniraman
sawusnja dipun sirami*
ja ta wahu kinapanan
ki pangulu dèn timbali
sedaja kantjanèki
ketib modin gumarudug
merbot lawan merdikan
miwah kauming bupati
Srimenganti pepaké para ulama.

44 Kinèn sami malbèng pura*
munggah bangsal* pra wong alim
kinèn sami njembahjangan
gumuruh matja usali
bakdané ladjeng mudji
sagungé kang para kaum
ja ta lajon sang Nata
tabela sasabé asri
gja umangkat kang ndèrèk sampun umangkat.

45 Ing alun-alun busekan
sagungé para pradjurit
sampun nijat sedaja[2]
ja ta lajoné sang Adji
medal saking djro puri
kang ndèrèk samekta sampun
ngadjeng inggal lumampah
pra bupati anèng wuri
tan winarna lajon prapta ing djimatan.

---

1 Line has one syllable too many.

2 Line has one syllable too few.

46 Glis kinubur lajonira
bubar wusnja matja tlekim
siḍem njenjed djroning pura
prihatin kélangan gusti
déné kang ibu sori
sanget muwun nèng kedatun
nanging [da]tan[1] kapirsa
djeng pangran Dipanegari
tigang dinten tigang dalu nèng djro pura.

47 Nulja kondur djeng pangéran
Tegalredja sampun prapti
kawarna surat Welanda
ing Samarang sampun prapti
tur wrin lina nerpati
numpak palwa lajar gupuh
marang ing Batawijah
angin keras saking wingking
bekta surat katur djéndral Batawijah.

48 Lampahing palwa wus prapta
muara nagri Betawi
Welanda ingkang ambekta
pan sampun umentas aglis
sarta amunḍi tulis
uduné* saking perau
lampahé sigra-sigra
ladjeng lumebèng djro Lodji
sampun tjunḍuk kelawan Gupenur-Djéndral.

49 Kang serat wus tinampanan
binuka sinukmèng galih
nulja sagunging kepala
bitjara dipun ambili
sagungé pra Rateni

[1] Line has one syllable too few; add [da-] to give [da]tan.

sedaja wus sami kumpul
sami sinungan pirsa
nukmèng serat ganti-ganti
sami rembag sagungé para kepala.

50 Putra tuwan gumantia
djumenenga narapati
pangéran Dipanegara
momonga dadia wakil
wadjib dadi gegenti
mring kang rama kang wus surud
serat tan dangu dadya
sinungken tjaraka aglis
tampi serat nulja palwa mbabar lajar.

51 Tan tjinatur anèng marga
gelisé tjarita prapti
tjaraka anèng Mentaram
ladjeng tumamèng ing Lodji
serat sinungken gipih
mring Residèn tampi gupuh
ladjeng parintah hurmat
masang mrijem wanti-wanti
wus parintah Residèn mring Danuredja.

52 Pepatih nagri Ngajogdja
tuwin pra sentana sami
sedaja sami pepakan
marang salebeting Lodji
sampun pepakan sami
pangran Dipanegarèku
praptané kantjan pjambak
lan pangéran Mangkubumi
pra kumpeni kang gedé wus sami pepak.

53 Nèng kursi djadjar atarap
kumpeni sami kumpeni
kumpul pada bangsanira

Resiḍèn amenjat gipih
tandangé ganti-ganti
sarwi bekta suratipun
marek ngarsèng pangéran
tembungé arum amanis
lah puniki pangéran Dipanegara.

54 Surat sing Betawi [wus][1] prapta
kang sarta dutané sami
suwawi tur pirsaa
idjoané ponang tulis
djeng pangran tampi tulis
sinukmèng sadjroning kalbu
djeng pangran wus pratéla
tinudju suka kang galih
mung kang sidji djeng pangran sumbang ing drija.

55 Wus pan alon ngandika
mring utusan sing Betawi
tuwin ring Resiḍèn Djogdja
satemené aku iki
pendjalukku saiki
adja na wong ngaru biru
sun tan nijat apa-apa
trima panḍita wak mami
dadi santri jèn pareng Gupenur-Djéndral.

56 Déné ta atmadjaningwang
tetep madeg narapati
manira angèstrènana*
mung ta lumuh awak mami
kelamun dadi wakil
nora bisa awakingsun
amung rama kéwala
djeng pangéran Mangkubumi
makilana kang wajah atmadjaningwang.

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[1] Line has one syllable too many. Suggest delete [wus].

57 Resiḍèn nora kaduga
djeng pangéran karsanèki
adjrih maring tuwan djéndral
ngowahi parintahnèki
pineksa pangran tan kénging[1]
resiḍèn bongos anepsu
pangéran ris ngandika
kongkonana mring Betawi
ing adegé sutèngsun iku sarèhna.

58 Kasusu kaselak apa
nganti surat sing Betawi
ja paḍangé atiningwang
Resiḍèn ladjeng nuruti
sekala kèndel nuli
dènira ngadegken ratu
njarèhaken praptanja
surat kang saking Betawi
gja bubaran sami mantuk sowang-sowang.

59 Kawarna djeng ratu ranḍa
sabab déné nora siḍa
kang wajah djumeneng adji
pangran Dipanegari
ingkang tansah njonḍang-njanḍung
rembugé pra pangéran
sedaja sami marengi
apa arep gawé karsa madeg radja.

60 Kangdjeng ratu tyas andléja*
semanging tyas sangga runggi
osiking drija mangkana
kelamun ta wajah mami
tan sida madeg adji
kasela kang dadi ratu
[mring][2] pangran Dipanegara

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[1]Line has one too many syllables.

[2]Line has one syllable too many. Suggest delete [mring].

pan iku anaké selir
salah galih kangdjeng ratu kang grahita.

61 Tjiptanira pan mangkana
anempuh bjat nora betjik
kangdjeng ratu gja utusan
residèn dipun timbali
malebu anèng* puri
tan adangu sigra rawuh
djeng ratu asasmita
miranti enggèn kang sepi
rerembagan adja na ingkang wuninga.

62 Atjaket dènira lenggah
sapratingkah njalawadi
garwané djeng Sultan Radja
kang darbé tyas sangga runggi
mring pangrań Dipanegari[1]
dèn sèngeri mring kang ibu
kinira darbé karsa
arsa madeg narapati
satemené [kang]djeng[2] pangéran tan apa.

63 Sawusnja tata alenggah
kangdjeng Ratu nabda ririh
apa baja karanira
nora sida madeg adji
ija ta wajah mami
residèn lon aturipun
djinarwa sadajanja
sagungé pra karanèki
kangdjeng Ratu rembagé salah kéwala.

64 Mring residèn arerepa
lah sampun kajun* pikir[3]

[1]Line has one syllable too many.
[2]Line has one syllable too few. Suggest add [kang-].
[3]Line has one syllable too few.

pangéran Dipanegara
jèn tinurut angrubedi*
kadjaté nora betjik
sedyané pan nora djudjur
tinggalen ndadak apa
tinarima angrubedi
salawasé pan nora amrih rahardja.

65 Alami pan nora prapta
serat kang saking Betawi
resiḍèn sring tinimbalan
lumebet sadjroning puri
resiḍèn lebetèki
marang pura dalu-dalu
tan ana wani malang
resiḍèn sakarsanèki
wira-wiri lepas* dalu sijang nora.

66 Resiḍèn bongos punika
mring djeng ratu langkung asih
sakarsané tinurutan
Danuredja angrodjongi
Wiranegara Mukidin
angatut tan arsa mingkuh*
mila tan ana malang
wong tiga rembagé sami
djeng pangéran ing rembag jogi tinilar.

67 Kangdjeng Ratu Sultan Radja
karsané pan nora betjik
senadyan Wiranegara
Danuredja kadjatèki
langkung panas kepati
lan paḍa tjipta nèng kalbu
pangran Dipanegara
salamba* lawan Welanda
Kangdjeng Ratu grahitané saja salah.

68 Mring resiḍèn aturira
bok sampun susah inganti
surat saking Batawijah
Danuredja nambuti* ngling
prajogi dèn tuturi
karsanipun kangdjeng Ratu
marmané Danuredja
njumbang rembag nora betjik
pan kinira pangéran Dipanegara.

69 Darbé renget mring Walanda
teka asanès pribadi
kelawan para pangéran
mring Danuredja pan samja iring*[1]
mung pangéran Dipanegari[2]
tan kersa mring wismanipun
malah dèn unḍamana
margané dadi pepatih
ija saking pangéran Dipanegara.

70 Kuneng wau kawarnaa
surat Batawijah prapti
sagungé para sentana
sampun sami dèn ḍawuhi
patih bupati mantri
sedaja tan wonten kantun
pangéran Dipanegara
sampun lurmaksa djro Lodji
rembag dados djeng pangéran sukèng drija.

71 Pamunḍuté tinurutan
marang djéndraling Betawi
pangéran sokur mring Allah
nanging adeging nerpati

semaja dina nenggih
wus rembag sedajanipun
nulja sami bubaran
sowang-sowang sami mulih
tan kawarna kang rembag sampun kawuntat.

CANTO IV

Metre: Pangkur

1 Pangéran Dipanegara
sapraptané ing dalem anulja glis
bakda asar wajahipun
karsa tindak tirakat
ènget djeng pangéran marang tanemanipun
peṭètan rengganing guwa
kang arsa dipun tingali.

2 Ladjeng tindak narpaputra
amung bekta panakawan kekalih
njamping wulung badjo wulung
ngagem teken kéwala
lir paṇḍita solahé sang radjasunu
tan kawarna anèng marga
ing guwa Silarong prapti.

3 Wus mandjing* sadjroning guwa
djeng pangéran ladjeng asalat magrib
bakda ngisa radjasunu
ningali papeṭètan
dangu anèng sadjaban guwa puniku
tengah dalu sigra salat
umandjing guwa tumuli.

4 [Tan][1] kawarna laminira
nèng Silarong wus antuk tigang ari
ing djang mirsa radjasunu
swarané mrijem munja
susun-susun kadya hurmat surat rawuh
ngandika mring panakawan
pajo inggal paḍa mulih.

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1 Line a has one syllable too few. [Tan] is suggested and it would seem to fit the intended meaning.

5 Kondur sang narpaputra
gurawalan ndatan kawarnèng margi
ing Sélaradja wus rawuh
ladjeng lon angandika
beḍil apa lamun sira paḍa ngrungu
Kertadjaja matur nembah
kula mirsa kangdjeng gusti

6 Kula ḍateng Sindurdjajan
kabaripun putra dalem sang pekik
tinetepken madeg ratu
mengku pradja Mentaram
djeng pangéran dangu datan saged muwus
djadja bang mawinga-winga
kumedut padoning laṭi

7 Mitjarèng sadjroning nala
ija apa kang dadi sisip mami
putra ngong djumeneng ratu
raganingsun tinilar
baja-baja ija akalé si besur*
Danurdja Wiranegara
lawan kangdjeng ibu sori.

8 Kèndel tjipta tanpa nebda*
mandjing geḍong Sélaradja kinuntji
tigang dinten tigang dalu
saré tan medal-medal
langkung sanget gerahing tyas sang radjasunu
nora kaja awakingwang
uwis nora katon djalmi.

9 Danurdja Wiranegara
lawan ibu kang gawé nora betjik
mangkana sang radjasunu
osik ingkang wardaja
ingsun iki tan nijat ngrebut keḍatun
samengko tinerka hala
pinasangana lir sandi.

10 Ja ta wau djeng pangéran
mupus ing tyas semana sigra midjil
ngungun mangu djroning kalbu
lingsem utjaping kaṭah
wus pinupus pesṭiné sariraningsun
manungsa bisa punapa
atasé Rabulngalamin.

11 Lamun ingsun tan mupusa
pesṭi adjur ija nagara iki
mring Allahingong kaku[1]
kalebu tan narima
djeng pangéran nimbali pangulu gupuh
ḍoko* praptèng ngarsa putra
lenggah sor kaju kumuning.

12 Amad Bahwi tinimbalan
lawan Sastrawinangun sampun prapti
Djajamustapa tan kantun
patihnja Singaredja
pan sedaja sawarniné ingkang sepuh
djeng pang[é]ran[2] Dipanegara
nèng Séla Gilang alinggih.

13 Trawinangun kinèn matja
ingkang serat Ardjuna Widjajèki
tjaritané kinèn ndjudjug
nalika dukatapa
kèndel matja ḍeḍaharan ladjeng metu
tan adangu sekul medal
sami sareng dènnja bukti.

14 Wusira bubar ḍaharan
djeng pangéran wau ngandika aris
ḍumateng kjai pangulu
lah kaki kulandika

[1]Line has one syllable too few.
[2]Line has one syllable too many. Delete [é].

nèng Silarong kula kénging wahjanipun*
kula mireng mrijem munja
kagèt kula anglangkungi.

15 Nana kula wonten serat
déné kula boten dipun utusi
kula nunten inggal matuk
kula ladjeng kepanggja
Sutadjaja sangking Sindudjajan iku
takon warta beḍil napa
Kartadjaja matur aris.

16 Inggih sendjata kang munja
hurmatipun putranta madeg hadji
sakeḍap kawula nepsu
klimput kalebon sétan
inggih salah kula nganggéja tetunggul
mila kula marang guwa
semajané maksih tebih.

17 Déné saking kadjeng kula
jèn wus serat* semajané puniki
sajektiné kula mantuk
dadak kula tinilap
pan seléntja* lan rembagé wau-wau
lah puniku sabab napa
akarja malaning ati.

18 Kados mekaten punika
inggih akalé ibu lawan Danuredjèki[1]
lawan Wiranegarèku*
amrih nepsu kawula
kados pundi jèn kula nuruti nepsu
pesṭi gègèring Ngajogdja

19 Pangéran Dipanegara
tegesipun wus nora katon djalmi

djinabloken rasanipun
teḍak Sultan Mentaram
ki pangulu aturipun angrerepu
duh gusti sampun kepandjang
èngeta goḍaning éblis.

20 Paduka wus ngaos kitab*
mjang sarkawi pitekur rahman djuwahir
sadaja suraosipun
sagung kitab hakékat
tuwan sokur mring Allah kang Mahaluhur
paduka pinaring tjoba
punapaa gusti pangling.

21 Ḍateng sedajané adjar
jen pangling abatal karsa djeng gusti
tokid makripat tan terus
gih maksih kawoworan
gusti napa kasupèn tjarijosipun
surasa lampah utama
djro kitab Hakikulmodin.

22 Lipuring tyas djeng pangéran
grahitèng tyas ija ngèlmu puniki
ija iki kajahipun
jèn nora linampahan
dosa geḍé jektiné ingkang pinikul
ing donja praptèng delahan
tanpa gawé nganggo adji.

23 Munḍak amuwuhi dosa
sanalika pangran tobating galih
dènira nuruti nepsu
supé rasaning kitab
lilih sirna djeng pangéran lingsemipun
nalangsa sokuring Allah
kang Agung kang Mahasutji.

24 Sampun dangu sigra bubar
narpaputra supé nora nggalih
sampun mandjing wektu luhur
sedaja sami salat
anèng masdjid Sélaradja gumarumung
bakda salat sigra bubar
marang wismané pribadi.

25 Kawarnaa éndjingira
wonten surat punika saking Lodji
kang surat tinampan sampun
binuka sinukmèng tyas
winangsulan nuwala tinampan sampun
narpaputra tyas nirmala
mendung terang gana sutji.

26 Nda tatita wus alama
tuwan bongos resiḍèning Mentawis
mangkana ingkang winuwus
karsané tuwan djéndral
Batawijah resiḍèn Mentaramiku
sinalinan kang madega
sabab wus teranging warti.

27 Dènnja momong pra sentana
tan prajoga amrih seneng pribadi
sentana kaṭah kang rengu
nanging nora kawedal
ginantènan kang dadya resiḍènipun
djudjuluk tuwan Semitsar
nèng Betawi wus diweling.

28 Ḍumateng Gupenur-Djéndral
apa déné sagung para Rateni
poma-poma dipun émut
pangran Dipanegara
adja nganti brasṭèng susah galihipun
nadyan akèh pra sentana
ija negara Mentawis.

29 Kang sidji* puniku poma
adja nganti nemu susahing galih
tuwan Semitsar wus rawuh
anèng nagri Mentaram
tinetepken tuwan bongos pasrah sampun
misuwur pradja Mentaram
sedaja wus amèstuti.

30 Laminé tuwan Semitsar
nèng Mentaram tentrem étja kang galih [sri][1]
sedaja étja tyasipun
wong tjilik gemah ardja
datan ana ingkang sungkawa wadyasipun*
pangéran Dipanegara
lan Semitsar wus pradjangdji.

31 Mateng dènnja sesobatan
datan ana [ing] kang[2] tinahèng galih
pang[é]ran[3] karsané tutug
anuruti Welanda
tirakat angibadaha radjasunu
adja na wong munasika
inggar tdjas sang radjasiwi.

32 Pangéran Dipanegara
lamun dalu matja Kuran sang pekik
mung tigang djus wangenipun
nimbali dasihé éndjang
kinumpulan sagungé kang sepuh-sepuh
kapan* kinèn matja Kuran
sami ndarus ganti-ganti.

33 Tigang magrib wangenira
sigra ganti kantjané kang nampani
jèn sampun angsal tigang djus

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[1] Line has one syllable too many. Omit [sri].

[2] Line has one syllable too few. Add [ing-].

[3] Line has one syllable too few. Add [é].

kèndel ladjeng ḍaharan
sekul ulam wédang lan pangan apenuh
saben éndjang pan mangkana
jèn sampun tutug sesasi.

34 Nuli salin karsanira
matja kitab-kitabé salin-salin
usul kalawan tasawup
suluk makam makripat
ingkang ngutjap hening lawan sokuripun
pratuwin kumpulé rahsa
nuli salin kitab malih.

35 Tekarar tekarub topah
bab ngibadah 'Hakikulmodin' tan kari
sawulan sampun tutug
nuli asalin karsa
kinèn matja sagung lajang suluk-suluk
wus katam asalin karsa
ambija winatja nuli.

36 Katamé 'Surat Ambija'
nuli salin amatja kitab muluk
kang surat 'Niskatulmuluk'
ratu kang kuna-kuna
tanah Arab tanah Adjam tjritanipun
kang nisṭa madya utama
mung lakuning nerpati.

37 Sawulan asalin karsa
maos kitab Ardjuna Widjajèki
praptèng Rama praptanipun
Wiwaha Bomantaka
boten wonten bosenipun radjasunu
kang maos sami ngersula
sawulan anulja salin.

38 Amatja tapsir sawulan
nulja wangsul amatja Kuran malih
kang matja sedajanipun
sampun adjrih dinukan
sami ngliwung sabab déné saben ésuk
nora nana dina towong
karsané sang radjasiwi.

39 Kèndel dènnja sami matja
djeng pangéran tirakat mring pasisir
Pemantjingan kang djinudjug
munggah marang aldaka
Gunung Kidul Balimbing Palijan iku
Sampar lawan ing Wulusan
tanapi ing gunung Giri.

40 Lan guwa kang adoh omah
sarupané kang ageng lan kang alit*
kinarja enggèn manekung
tan mbekta abdi kaṭah
panakawan mung tetiga kang tut pungkur
angagem wulung kéwala
pilih djalma kang hudani.

41 Lamun kondur djeng pangéran
Selaradja dènnja anenepi[1]
mung dinten Kemis sang bagus
kondur madjibi garwa
milanipun para garwa sami ngragum
awit tampi peparingan
gandjaran kenjaring aṭi.

42 Sawenèh ana angutjap
ija ta Allaḥ gusti sang nerpasiwi*[2]
nèng Sélaradja kekuwu

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1 Line has one syllable too few.

2 Line has one syllable too many.

puniku asil apa
rina-wengi [ing]sun[1] pikir kaku tyasingsun
wit arang tampa paringan
bijang lembing banget ngelih.

43 Tan dojan mangan sawijah
ingsun bangkang* pribadi nora apti
jèn nora gusti sang bagus
kang ndulang paring mangan
anèh temen panganané sangking letru*
kantjané gumuju latah
kang anteng mèsem njekikik.

44 Kebandjur dènnja gondjakan
rada banjol* selir sidji iku[2]
alutju sembrana tjutjud
sedep lamun sembranan
lah ta ija aku ika darma mupus
batiné mangsa bédaa
bengi pada ngolang-aling.

45 Lamun uwis pinakanan
djintel baé sawengi tan ngulisik
aramé sami gumuju
kuneng ingkang sembranan
djeng pangéran ing mangké ingkang winuwus
ndatan kersa séba-séba
jèn karsa malebèng Lodji.

46 Jèn wus panggih lan Semitsar
narpaputra ladjeng malebèng puri
panggih lawan ratu ibu
miwah pangran Dipatya

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1 Line has one syllable too many. Suggest delete [ing-] to give [sun].

2 Line has one syllable too few.

ingkang putra djeng pangéran prabu timur
lagja ameng[-ameng][1] abebèngkat*
lan panakawan lit-alit.

47 Gumeder nèng pelataran
duk semana wus juswa* kawan warsi
kang uwa nimbali gupuh
emban njaosken énggal
gja tjinanḍak mring uwa sigra pinangku
dèn elus ingkang mustaka
pang[é]ran[2] waspanja dres midjil.

48 Katon ari kang wus léna
putra sidji timur djumeneng adji
wus dangu anulja kondur
klaju sang radja muḍa
marmanipun mangkana sang Prabu Timur
winuruk marang kang éjang
tanapi ibu pribadi.

49 Pan kinèn basaa rama
Radja Timur tanpa* sudarmi[3]
semana binekta kondur
marang ing Tegalredja
ingkang uwa langkung trisna marang sunu
dangu anèng Tegalredja
arsa kondur marang puri.

50 Sring teḍak mring Tegalredja
ija lawan ingkang ibu pribadi
terkaḍang lan éjangipun
terkaḍang teḍak pjambak

[1]Line has two syllables too many. Suggest delete [-ameng] to give correct number of eight syllables.
[2]Line has one syllable too many. Suggest delete [é].
[3]Line b has two syllables too few.

wus mangkana alami-lami wonten rembug
Danurdja matur Semitsar
lan major Wiranegari.

51 Aturé radèn Danurdja
sami lawan temunggung Wiranagari
mring Residèning Mentarum
déné rembug punika
pan adumuk pangéran panggalihipun
dèn pareng atur kawula
radinan kilèn* nagari

52 Ing peken Kuntjèn punika
prajoginé sinungan ratan sami
mangidul terusing gunung
pantogan trus Pandawa
bablas ngidul Silarong Pijungan ngidul
minger andjoging Praga[1]
tepung ratan mring Senepi.

53 Lèr pasar Kuntjèn tan rata
tan terus nradjang ing dusun Tompéjan nenggih
ing djro dusun Tompéjan iku
djro désa kelangenan
samubarang manggis durèn lan kapundung
duku durèn lawan nangka
pakèl pelem lan kuwèni.

54 Tompèjan ngalèr terusnja
marang Ngluwes désa katradjang margi
djog Terini ngalèr terus
tepung radinan wijar
dug iku lah asahé panginggilipun
tijang panginggil nagara
ngalèr Ngendangan lumaris.

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1 Line has one syllable too few.

55 Resiḍèn alon anabda
Tegalredja* pangkalan geng pribadi
ija rembuken dèn alus
adja dumèh manira
wis djumurung adja sira nggampang laku
jèn pangéran nora lila
wurungena adja kardi.

56 Jèn awèh [kang] djeng[1] pangéran
jèn pineksa pesṭi tan nemu betjik
agawé widjinipun musuh*
sabab djangdjiningwang
lan pangéran Dipanegara rumuhun
sapa wiwit gawé hala
adja na nemu basuki.

57 Resiḍèn malih anabda
akèh-akèh sentana ing Mentawis
lumuh* iku adja na purun
meksaken* tyasira
nora wurung nagri Djawa hèra-hèru
Danurdja dèn éling sira
ja maning weweling mami.

58 Radèn dipati Danurdja
sampun medal lan Wiranegarèki
saprapta nèng wismanipun
ladjeng sami rembagan
masang andjir saking lor terus mangidul
karsané radèn Dipatya
karja ratan amerapit.

59 Aneradjang kelangenan
kebonira pangéran Dipanegari
tan rahaju kadjatipun
amrih pangéran béka

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1 Line a has one syllable too few. Suggest add [kang-].

ija ana kang dadi raosing kalbu
sangking keḍik nora kaṭah
lami-lami wuwuh malih.

60 Kawarna kangdjeng pangéran
anenanem kebon sampun mepeki
wonten sadjroning ḍusun
aran ḍusun Tompéjan*
warna-warna taneman pidjetan ḍuku
manggis durèn lawan djirak
gowokagé lan kuwèni.

61 Genitri terbalo lerak
nganḍap lesuh* kapulaga ngideri*
ja ta wonten kang winuwus
dutané dyan Dipatya
saking pasar Pakuntjèǹ pamedalipun
tinḍih dyan Bratakusuma
dinuta amasang andjir.

62 Lor bener aneradjang[1]
pepeṭètan Patembungan asri*[2]
wong djuru kebon agupuh
matur kangdjeng pangéran
angandika ija marang djurunipun
sapa ta tetinḍihira
wong iku kang masang andjir.

63 Djuru kebon aturira
abdi dalem Braṭakusuma gusti
ngandika sang narpasunu
ladak Bratakusuma
marang aku nora nganggo tembang-tembung
dumèh dutané Danurdja
angladaki marang mami.

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[1] Line a has one syllable too few.

[2] Line b has one syllable too few.

64 Bok ija nembung maring wang
rutjatana sagungé andjir-andjir
lamun nora awèh iku
ija Bratakusuma
tabokana ija nḍasé dimèn ngelu*
kang abdi sami sumahab
angrutjati andjir-andjir.

65 Kabèh sampun rinutjaṭan
ja ta radèn Bratakusuma angling
andjir rinutjat sedarum
sanget pamenggahira
tinabokan marang Dermadjaja gupuh
lumaju anundjang-nundjang
tinilar ingkang turanggi.

66 Lampahira gurawalan
tanpa djaran Danurdjan sampun prapti
praptané ladjeng umatur
wiwit praptèng wekasan
Danuredja mijarsa ngungun kelangkung
rahadèn Bratakusuma
dèn taboki enḍasnèki.

67 Ing galih sanget murina
malbèng Lodji matur ḍateng kumpeni
resiḍèn alon amuwus
bijèn ingsun wus wekas
dèn abetjik mring pangéran sidji iku
samubarang ing prakara
rembuga dipun ararih.

68 Iku sigra Bratakusuma
tanpa tembung dènira masang andjir
bener kang naboki iku
dyan dipati Danureḍja
sakelangkung gerahé werdajanipun
ginagas tan saja suda
sangsaja angigit-igit.*

69 Kawarnaa sampun lama
nèng keraton rikala anudjoni
samja lajad ratu ibu
gerah sanget semana
djeng pangéran Dipanegara puniku
anèng kursi dènnja lenggah
munggèng pelataran masdjid.

70 Radèn dipati Danurdja
tinimbalan tan dangu praptèng ngarsi
dangu dènnja gunem tjatur
Danurdja dinukanan
aprakara sawahing Redjawinangun
djinaluk marang Welanda
sira teka anuruti.

71 Senadyana nurutana
bok anganggo rembag kalawan mami
hèh Danuredja sirèku
gawé betjik[-betjik][1] Welanda
angreruba pan ija dudu bandamu
betjiké sira angalap
tan kélangan olèh betjik.

72 Marmané kangdjeng pangéran
purun blaka* melèhaken wewadi
awit dadi patih iku
narpaputra kang karja
pan Welanda residèn mung idinipun
nanging samengko tan ngrasa
lali banget marang kang wit.

73 Umatur radèn Dipatya
ririh sendu pinirsa sumengit
gja sinampluk uwangipun
lan agemé tjenéla
sanget kanggeg wirangé sadjroning kalbu
katah djalma kang wuninga
tjipta lali marang gusti.

[1]Line has two syllables too few. Suggest omit [-betjik].

74 Radèn dipati Danurdja
sanalika tjipta lali ing gusti
tan mijat* selaminipun*
mangké wuwuh tjenéla
ija sapa wani motjot maring ingsun
jèn sun betjik lan Walanda
sapa ingkang wani mami.

75 Wus bubar mulih sedaja
djeng pangéran Dipanegara prapti
ing Tegalredja wus masuk
panepèn Sélaradja
dyan Dipati Danuredja kang winuwus
sapraptané dalemira
kelangkung dènnja prihatin.

76 Wong dadi wakilé nata
luhur tenggok uwang dipun kasuti
sanget mérangé tyasipun
ja ta kala semana
apan saben ésuk marang Lodji masuk
kang rinembug* marang karja
tyasira sanget kuwatir.

77 Sabarang tindaking pradja
Dyan Dipati dadi wakil mring Lodji
tan suda raosing kalbu
sanget depèng Welanda
datan pegat andrawiṇa* ing kajun
Danurdja raket Welanda
djeng pangéran semu tebih.

78 Tan pati raket Welanda
sawetara karsané sang apekik
sabab ènget ngèlmunipun
parintahira agama
jèn wong iku lahir batinira terus
asobat kalawan kowar
batal imané tan dadi.

79 Tinampik* maring Allah[1]
djinabaken umaté kangdjeng Nabi
radjaputra karsanipun
donjakérat antuka
wus mangkana saja lami-lami wau
pangulu Rahmanudin [kang][2]
sèlèh lelakonirèki.*

80 Ginantosken ketibira
wasta Kamalodinningrat nenggih
ingkang djumenengken wau
djeng Ratu lan Danurdja
lan Welanda Radjaputra tan tinantun
mung Danurdja ingkang ngangkat
tanpa kanṭi radjasiwi.

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1 Line has one syllable too few.

2 Line has one syllable too few; [kang], which gives the right vowel ending, is suggested.

CANTO V

Metre: Kinanti

1 Kawarnaa sang bagus[1]
pangéran Dipanegari*
sangsaja ing lama-lama
keraos-raos ing galih
pangulu lami sèlèhnja
wus ana ingkang gumanti.

2 Gawéjanira kang ibu
lawan Danurédja patih
ingidèn marang Welanda
sungkawèng tyas sang apekik
sabab pangulu adegnja
tan kena ginawé patih.

3 Wadjibé karja pangulu
sajektiné narapati
kang wadjib karja wilajat
kang wus sah sadjroning dalil
saiki si Danuredja
lawan ibu ingkang kardi.

4 Senadjan ta putraningsun
durung sah lamun ngidèni
netepken gawé wilajat
maksih raré madeg adji
pan amung dadi werana
durung sah adegé adji.

5 Mung gawéné mloja-mlaju
lawan bèngkat kang dèn udi*
adja ngilangken lurinnja
paéka* djeng rama dingin
wus sah dènnja madeg nata
agawé barang kardi.

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[1]Line has one syllable too few.

6 Wus trap sah wilajatipun
lamun ta pangulu ḍingin
jèn iku adja sèlèha
tan sumelang hati mami
binalèken nora arsa
ladjeng pamit munggah kadji.

7 Rinapung akéh tan kéguh
mila sakarsaning* galih
pan asring dipun wasésa
kukumé marang apatih
lawas-lawas nora bisa
ki pangulu anglakoni.

8 Adjrih béndjing kukumipun
jèn wus prapta djaman akir
sangsaja kagagas-gagas
tyasira sang narpasiwi
ènget bali lewening Topah[1]
wilajaté kang ginalih.

9 'Kelamun ta ana ratu
durung akil madeg adji
durung sah gawé wilajat'
dadi ingsun pikir-pikir
pangulu iki durung sah
ningkahaké laki-rabi.

10 Nindakaken kukumipun
jekti durung sah puniki
durung wilajating nata
Danuredja dudu adji
djeng ibu dudu nalèndra
lamun mengkana saiki.

---

[1] Line has one syllable too many.

11 Bubrah lakuné kukum[1]
sirna kitab anggernèki
dèn taklidaken sang bagus
maring sagungé wong alim
mupakat para ulama
sangsaja renteng* kang galih.

12 Sigra tur surat kang ibu
tjaraka méntar wus prapti
surat tinampan binuka
sinukmèng sadjroning galih
kang drija tembungé surat
nulja winangsulan aglis.

13 Nanging salah tembungipun
pinaring kebat aglis[2]
nembah méntar sampun prapta
Tegalredja wus apanggih
lan pangéran serat tinampan*
binuka sinukmèng galih.

14 Sun moh pangulu lawas iku[3]
wong wus sèlèh ja pinikir
ngong isin utjaping djana
saiki wong wis didegi
embuh ta unining kitab
nadyan pangran meksa* ngukih.

15 Pan uwis kaidèn iku
ija maring ing Welandi
wis adja kakéjan rembag
dandanan* kang uwis dadi
pangran jèn meksa ngowaha
mangsa ta wania Wlandi.

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[1]Line has one syllable too few.
[2]Line has one syllable too few.
[3]Line has one syllable too many.

16 Iti* panukmaning tembung
kanggeg wusira sang pekik
wekasané kang nuwala
sengak kelangkung njenjengat
ngandika sang narpaputra
kangdjeng ibu nora keni.

17 Pradjané pinrih rahaju
apa baja wus pinesṭi
rusaké nagri Ngajogja
wus kèndel sang radjasiwi
tan ana kang munasika
sirep tan ana walang slisik.*[1]

18 Wus lami genti winuwus
wong Pinggir ingkang winarni
sagungé kang darbé anak
prasami kèndel tan laki
miwah kakim sedajanja
ki pangulu nora wani.

19 Ningkahaken sedajèku
marang uwong désa Pinggir
sawab puniku bojongan
kawulané para pati
nora kena ningkahena
wong Pinggir kalawan kakim.

20 Mung kang ningkahaken ratu
mangké ratu durung akil
boten sah gaḍah wilajah
sajekti éwuh kang ngèlmi
dadya pangulu rembagnja
marang sagungé wong alim.

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[1]Line has one syllable too many.

21 Sedaja rempeg kang rembug
pangéran Dipanegari
wus sah paringa wilajah
paningkahé wali kakim
wong Pinggir dalilé kitab*
dadya katur rembagnèki.

22 Dumateng ing kangdjeng ratu
Danuredja kjana patih
kang njaosaken pirembag
kangdjeng ratu pan mèstuti
ing lingsem sadjro werdaja
mring putra déné ing nguni.

23 Kangdjeng ratu nurut nepsu
tan nggalih aturing siwi
ngandika mring Danuredja
dawuhena aglis[1]
pangulu iku sébaa
mring putrangong nuwun idin.

24 Mungguh adeging pangulu
lan maning nuwuna idin
mungguhing paningkahira
wong Pinggir wali kakim[2]
Adipati Danuredja
lèngsèr prapta wisma nuli.

25 Utusan marang pangulu
Kamalodinningrat nenggih
pepak ketib modinira
mjang alim kang limit-limit
limit-limit lamat-lamat
lir séla munggèng djro warih.

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[1] Line has two syllables too few.

[2] Line has one syllable too few.

26 Jèn katiga mangsanipun
ramjang-ramjang saling warih
tan katingal sélanira
kalimput lumutirèki
nanging ta pangrasanira
sutji lahir trusing batin.

27 Tjinandra tyasé lir wulung
muluk anèng ing wijati
milang-milang marang anḍap
mespadaken pitik tjilik
jèn pisah lawan bijungnja
sinamber saking wijati.

28 Mangkana budining kaum
jèn mitjara ngèlmi dakik
lir wulung muluk ngawijat
silir sileming rat gaib
mubeng-mubeng witjaranja
tjalekik mangarah melik.

29 Ja ta wau dutanipun
Danurdja radèn dipati
rawuh surambi agepah
pangulu dènnja ngurmati
sigra nḍawuhaken sabda
kang saking rekjana patih.

30 Terang saking kangdjeng ratu
pangulu andika tampi
ḍawuhé rekjana patya
andika séba dèn aglis
lan kabèh para ulama
tuwin ketib lawan modin.

31 Mring Tegalredja puniku
kangdjeng ratu wus nuruti
aturé para ulama

kang sami amrih basuki
tuwan residèn Semitsar
sampun pareng lan ngidèni.*

32 Dyan Dipati wus djumurung
rembagé sagung wong alim
rèh sampun amupakat
dalilipun kitab pèkih
pangéran Dipanegara
ingkang wadjib angidèni.*

33 Sawab putra ingkang sepuh
mring kangdjeng sultan Mentawis
kang njekel waris negara
ki pangulu Kamalodin
matur ḍengku nggih sandika
kawula sangat umiring.

34 Bubar sigra mangkat gupuh
Tegalredja sampun prapti
warnanen sang narpaputra
alenggah ngisor kumining
munggèng ing séla gegilang
waspada sang radjasiwi.

35 Pangulu sumiwèng ajun
sakantjané alim-alim
kinèn ngirid panakawan
ladjeng atumamèng* arsi
prapta ngarsa pangran gupuh*
djawat hasta genti-genti.

36 Djeng pangéran ngandika rum
kadingarèn sira prapti
baja lamun ana karja
pangulu umatur aris
muka sumungkèm pratala
lir péndah kondjeming siti.

37 Gusti hamba tampi ḍawuh[-ḍawuh]
ibu dalem karsanèki
kawula kinèn mareka
ing gusti sang radja pekik
kang mugi djasad kawula
djeng gusti paring idin.

38 Nggèn amba dados pangulu
wonten nagari Mentawis
susulih njepeng agama
lan ningkahaken tijang Pinggir[2]
kang jatim wus tanpa bapa
dados malbèng wali kakim.

39 Kangdjeng* gusti mung sang bagus
kang wadjib darbé Mentawis
sampun sah ing dalem kitab
mèsem ngandika sang pekik
ḍingin ibu tungkul apa
nora ina saking mami.

40 Djenengaing]sun[3] wus atur pémut
suratingsun pan tinampik*
winangsulan prajoga[4]
tan pantes rinungu djalmi
laraning galih manira
prapta dina iki maksih.

41 Éwa mangkana pangulu
jèn ingsun nora ngidèni
djenengsun nemu duraka
mring gusti Rasulngalamin

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[1]Line has two syllables too many. Suggest delete [-ḍawuh].
[2]Line has one syllable too many.
[3]Line has one syllable too many. Suggest delete [-ing-].
[4]Line has one syllable too few.

kalebu wong aniaja
mungguh wong kang kaja mami.

42 Pangéran ngandika arum
pangulu sun paring idin
nama Kamalodinningrat
dadi pangulu Mentawis
Jogjakarta Adiningrat
sun pasrah kukum alami.

43 Ki pangulu tampi ḍawuh
sujud sokur ing maliki
ketib modin lan ngulama
sedaja sami neksèni
wus sah pangulu adegnja
metu tut udjaring dalil.

44 Batal adegé karuhun*
kang sangking radèn Dipati
narpaputra tyasnja paḍang
ngandika maring ing dasih
kinèn munḍut ḍeḍaharan
werata ulama ketib.

45 Praptèng wisma ki pangulu
ladjeng marek kjana patih
wus katur ing lampahira
miwiti malah mekasi
Radèn Dipati Danuredja
mijarsa mèsem tanpa ngling.

46 Nda tatita laminipun
Pangéran Dipanegari
pan asring remen tirakat
kados duk ing nguni-uni
tuwin dènnja maos kitab
papan boten dèn owahi.

47 Malah saja sru sang bagus
dènira brata* ing ngèlmi
persanakan lan ulama
kang sampun alim ing ngèlmi
dèn tindaki wismanira
ladjeng tindak marang masdjid.

48 Narpatmadja sarwi ngaṇḍut
arta ringgit uwang pitjis
masdjidira sinèlèhan
terkaḍang binuwang margi
lamun wonten wong musakat
pekir miskin dèn paringi.

49 Narpaputra tyas kagugu
ginugu saja ngranuhi
gerahé werdajanira
sabab déning ibu sori
sabarang-barang prakara
Danurdja Wiranegari.

50 Lan Welanda kang kinantjan
narpasiwi tan tinari
malah dajinta naléndra
sumengket dènnja rebut sih
lawan si Mister Semitsar
lamun dalu malbèng puri.

51 Wus tanpa wadi sang arum
lan Semitsar anèng puri
tanbuh baja karsanira
lawan dajinta nerpati
keḍaton tanpa adjia
dadi kompra kang nagari.

52 Tatané agama rusuh
wit saking rekjana patih
kelawan Wirañegara
rina wengi ngorak-arik
tan pisan ngambah agama
mung mutjung raosing galih.

CANTO VI

Metre: Putjung

1 Pan akaṭah raosing tyas sang abagus
awit ibunira
kalawan rekjana patih
kang asring maringi basa [da]tan[1] ardja.

2 Tjiptaning tyas narpasuta osikipun
pinrih temen ingwang
tjela lan wong karepané
pan dugané sun ḍemen dadi naléndra.

3 Kaja apa margané sariraningsun
benggang lan Welanda
djeng pang[é]ran[2] maro galihé*
saja bentar tirakat awis nèng wisma.

4 Akukuwu nèng Silarong radjasunu
ketawis gèsèhnja
pangéran barang karsané
tinengeran marang ing Mister Semitsar.

5 Pan katutuh Danurdja lan Kangdjeng Ratu
ing sawidji dina
Danurdja ngandikan agé
malbèng pura rembug lan dajinta nata.

6 Angandika wau kangdjeng ratu ibu
hèh paran kang warta
Dipanegara sing mangké
sun angrungu arang-arang saba* wisma.

7 Nèng Silarong amesu dènnja manekung
baja iku apa

---

[1] Line has one syllable too few. Suggest [da-] be added.
[2] Line has one syllable too many. Suggest delete [é].

angadeg kraman karepé
jèn ngantia dadi kraman iku béndjang.

8 Pesṭi abot sanggané puniku bésuk
djer ketarèng tingkah
radèn Dipati aturé
pan pernudju meṭiki lan karsanira.

9 Pan danguné nenggih kangdjeng ratu ibu
tjipta antuk marga
radèn dipati kadjaté
ènget ing tyas kala sinampluk tjanéla.

10 Lawan asring dèn lok-olok* widjilipun
lan asring dèn utjap
ḍuk dadi patih margané
awit saking pangéran Dipanegara.

11 Aturipan kados leres gustiningsun
kawula mijarsa
abdinta djawi wartosé
putra dalem pangéran Dipanegara.

12 Baḍé kersa lelana sang radjasunu
tan arsa kungkulan
ḍateng Welanda ḍawuh[é][1]
dadi ratu kawengku marang Welanda.

13 Semunipun ing galih sang radjasunu
lumuh kaungkulan
lan Welandi pijangkuhé
sring kawedal timbalané radjaputra.

14 Wlanda* iki lawas-lawas jèn saja gung
tamtuné jèn telas
bumi ing Ngajogja kijé
kena kabèh kaduwé marang Welanda.

---

[1]Line has one syllable too few. Suggest add [é] which gives correct final vowel ending.

15 Kula gusti miḍanget pjambak kang rembug
ulun gaḍah réntjang
tengga régol pakarjané
bapakipun ngabdi wonten Tegalredja.

16 Gih punika gusti ingkang asung tutur
jèn putra paduka
pan asring anḍawuhaké
baḍé medal Silarong kinarja pura.

17 Kangdjeng ratu mijarsa grahitèng kalbu
lamun mengkonowa
geḍé temen pengarahé
arep ngrata mengku ing rat nusa Djawa.

18 Tur ta mangsa* anguwisana puniku
munḍak dadi gobrah*
wusana lon ngandikané
Danuredja tutura Mister Semitsar.

19 Adja kongsi kebandjur karepé iku
jèn nganti bandjura
Dipanegara karepé
nora wurung jèn gègèr nagri Ngajogja.

20 Pesṭi abot sanggané wong sidji iku
linulutan djalma
pesṭi glis akèh balané
kangdjeng ratu kèndel tjeping sanalika.

21 Osiking tyas ḍawuhé menawa luput
wusana ngandika
Danurdja metuwa agé
lah pikiren adja nganti tunḍa béma.

22 Lan Welanda dèn abetjik pangrembugmu
kjana patih medal
kelangkung lega galihé
sukaning tyas lir péndah ardi kusuma.

23 Lampahira kjana patih Lodji rawuh
lan Mister Semitsar
resiḍèn nagri Mentawis
tetabéjan atata dènira lenggah.

24 Kjana patih matur ing saḍawuhipun
dajinta naléndra
miwiti malah mekasi
timbalané kabèh sang retna dajindra.

25 Ḍawuh sidji anakipun pitungpuluh
resiḍèn Semitsar
tan angling mung manṭuk baé
saṭemené tyasira nora kaduga.

26 Sampun bubar genti malih kang winuwus
wusing lama-lama
pangran Dipanegarané
saja sanget galihé radjapinutra.

27 Saja kaṭah asung pémut[1]
dèn arah Welanda
tinarka maro karsané
datan arsa sobatan lawan Welanda.

28 Sungkawèng tyas pojang-pajingan sang bagus
supé ḍahar néndra
sigra duta mring abdiné
Djajamustapa kinèn nepi mring djimatan.[2]

29 Makamipun djeng Sinuwun Sultan Agung
dagan pesaréjan
mung wong sidji rowangé[3]
sampun prapta marengi dalu djumuwah.*

[1]Line has four syllables too few.
[2]Line has one syllable too many.
[3]Line has one syllable too few.

30 Gja malebu djuru kuntji atut pungkur
kang aran Ki Balad
sawengi nèng dagan baé
langkung aserep dalu kaṭah kang rubéda.[1]

31 Adedonga Djajamustapa sedalu
duta muga-muga
wontena paring wasité
lamun bésuk* pinaringan alamat.[2]

32 Wetu subuh semana Ki Balad wau
njorog* kuntjinira
binuka wau lawangé
duta kalih malebet lenggah nèng dagan.

33 Angresiki makamé djeng Sultan Agung
kanan kéringira
sampun rata resikané
sigra lungguh Djajamustapa dedonga.

34 Ladjeng matur lamun dinuta sang bagus
wus rampung aturnja
ningali tengahé langsé
pan ketingal tenger barang* rupa erah.

35 Abang bunder sapiring wetaranipun
pernahé kang erah
tengah beneré langséné
makamipun Sultan Agung Mentaram.*[3]

36 Duta mawas semana anulja metu
prapta djawi tanja
ḍumateng djuru kuntjiné
kados pundi tengah langsé wonten erah.

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[1] Line has one syllable too many.

[2] Line has one syllable too few.

[3] Line has one syllable too few.

37 Gih punapa sampun lamija puniku
lan apa wus hadad
Ki Balad alon aturi
Inggih kula getun umundjuk* wuninga.

38 Ingkang abang ing wingking boten kadulu
wus karsané Allah
ing tanah Djawa baḍéné
kaṭah erah kang baḍé tumibèng lemah.

39 Genah* rusak wus pinesṭi tekdiripun
tan kénging tinambak
lamun wus prapta tekdiré
sigra pamit mulih ki Djajamustapa.

40 Tan tjinatur ing marga pan sampun rawuh
bjantarèng gustinja
matur kabèh sahanané
langkung ngungun narpatmadja kang sasmita.

41 Ngandika rum baja uwis pesṭinipun
nagri tanah Djawa
bakal ana perang geḍé
akèh getih wutah paḍa tiba lemah.

42 Nadyan silih panḍita kang agung-agung
kinèn anulaka
Allah jèn wis ngersakaké
tanpa gawé panulaké pra panḍita.

43 Djer ta makluk sedarma baé lumaku
kang murba misésa
ja saking Allah kabèhé
jèn mengkana Djajamustapa sun duta.

44 Alungaa mring pulo Brambang sirèku
lamun sira bisa

ngamèka kembang ta kaé
ija kaé Djajakusu[ma][1] nora bisa*

45 Lah bandjura mangalor lakunirèku
nèng Pasir manggona*
jèn uwis bandjura kaé
mring Gumelem ija sira adagana.

46 Lamun [u]wis[2] bandjura munggahing gunung
Tasik Windu kana
mring Tjahjana nepia kaé[3]
Pakéringan lan ing Lawet anepia.

47 Ja ing kono pan ana pratanḍanipun
negara Mentaram
hala kelawan betjiké
dina besuk* lah pajo sira mangkata.

48 Si Djanodin miluwa marang sirèku
lawan anakira
Abu Kasan adja kari
Kjai Mobid ing Gujangan ampirana.

49 Ja kantinen kang wus weruh pernahipun
lawan uwong désa
adjakken nganḍuta kaé
sangu ḍuwit adja susah ana paran.

50 Kawarnaa éndjangé sampun malebu
marang Sélaradja
pamit marang ing gustiné
pinaringan donga* kang wekasan pisan.

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[1] Although MS. has only [Djajakusu] and this gives the line the correct number of syllables, Djajakusuma is correct form of the word.

[2] MS. has [wis] which is one syllable too few. Suggest [uwis].

[3] Line has one syllable too many.

51 Lawan tetenger* tanḍa wakil sang bagus
wus pinaringan donga[1]
lèngsèr umangkat lampahé
nèng Gujangan ki Mobid pernudju lunga.

52 Kinèn nusul tan dangu nuwala rawuh*
sigra ḍinawuhan
djeng pangéran timbalané
kjai Mobid aturé inggih sandika.

53 Pan sedalu nèng Gujangan éndjangipun
budal lampahira
ing Ajah* prapta ḍusuné
kawan dalu sipeng ḍusun Ngadiredja.

54 Nèng musigit pan amung sipeng sedalu
éndjangé umangkat
angambah ing alas geḍé
sru kalunta nèng Sraju kalangan toja.

55 Kali geḍé santeré kelangkung-langkung
andjoging samodra
dangu nganti nèng pinggiré
nudju suwung djalma kang tunggu baita.

56 Sami salat munggèng sawétané ranu
sareng bakda salat
sedaja awas tingalé
mijat badjul angambang tengah bengawan.

57 Agengipun kang baja kelangkung-langkung
gigiré seklasa
sami trataban atiné
aningali ḍumateng baja kang ngambang.

---

1 Line has one syllable too many.

58 Tan adangu ingkang tengga palwa rawuh
tjineluk gja mara
anulja dèn sabrangaké
baja ngelem banju katradjang ing palwa.

59 Winelahan sabrang wétan sampun rawuh
sigra sami numpak
sami sanget kuwatiré
nèng baita sami munadjat mring Allah.

60 Tan adangu kang palwa pan sampun rawuh
sabrang kulon inggal
sami mentas agé-agé
gja lumampah anurut pinggir samodra.

61 Sami mulat mring tengah samodra agung
pan wonten mendjangan
nglangi katut ombak geḍé
kambang-kambang saking ing pulo Berambang.

62 Praptèng pinggir mendjangan pitu lumaju
malebet ing wana
surja mèh praptèng surupé
lampahira prapta anèng ing Telatjap.

63 Désa suwung wung aparek* wana agung
ngulati sipengan
tilas patinggi* kaumé
sami sipeng neng wismané modin Telatjap.[1]

64 Dalu rembag ki Mukidin lamun rembug
kularsa tirakat
mring pulo Nini-Nini[2]
ladjeng ḍateng ing pulo Madjeṭi pisan.

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[1] Line has one syllable too many.

[2] Line has one syllable too few.

65 Saking sanget kapingin kalamun weruh
lah kadi punapa
sekar Djajakusumané
sanget-sanget nggèn kula ajun wikana.

66 Lon sumaur Kjai Resajuda wau
jèn sampéjan arsa
pulo Madjeṭi pernahé
pan akaṭah puniku weragadira.

67 Satus ringgit mangké kula terken* bagus
alampah baita
pulo Madjeṭi marginé
nenggih ladjeng ḍateng pulo Nini pisan.

68 Kjai Djajamustapa alon sumaur
lan ki Mopid ika
tan kuwawi tambangané
satus ringgit njukani ḍateng andika.

69 Nadyan kurang kawula pan boten sanggup
gih sandé kéwala
ki Mopid alon udjaré
kula sandika* terké mring Masdjid Séla.

70 Neḍa pinten* gih tambangané puniku
Kjai Resajuda
alon wau wangsulané
kalih réjal jèn ḍumateng Masdjid Séla.

71 Sampun rembug wus kinentjèng opahipun
éndjang sigra buḍal
numpak ing palwa lampahé
kambang-kambang kumambang tengah samodra.

CANTO VII

Metre: Maskumambang

1 Kjai Djajamustapa lan kjai Mopid
tuwin kantjanira
nèng palwa lampah djeladri
baitané kambang-kambang.

2 Lautira segara hanakan nenggih
ngilèn lampahira
abener tan nolih-nolih
Masdjid Séla wus katingal.

3 Langkung inggar sedaja raosing galih
ngrasa tekèng paran
sedaja suka kang galih
palwa minggir sampun mentas.

4 Weḍi ta sigra binuwangan aglis[1]
rumput binubutan
lawang masdjid sampun resik
anulja karja dahana.

5 Damar murub sedaja sampun umandjing
djroné Masdjid Séla
ulengan kukus nglimputi
labet agengé kang dupa.

6 Langkung mulek* kang kukus amrik aminging
kabèh samja donga
pandjanga juswaning* gusti
sami dikir wirid sigra.

7 Pan sedalu tan wonten ingkang anguling
nenuwun mring Allah
bjar raina* sami umidjil[2]
saking djroning Masdjid Séla.

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[1]Line has one syllable too few.

[2]Line has one syllable too many.

8 Mandjing medal raina datan winarni
wajah wetu asar
prasami mandjing ing masjid
jèn dalu asalat kadjat.

9 Aneneda mring Allah kang Mahasutji
ardjané Mentaram
sampun wonten kawis-kawis
djeng pangéran selameta.

10 Ki Djanodin sakedap dènira guling
sinungan sesmita
djeng pangran katingal nitih
anumpak sapi Gumarang.

11 Agengipun andaka lir péndah wukir
ing lembu punika
katingal sikilirèki*
kabantjang ojod Balaran.

12 Pan pineksa kang ojod* peḍot tumuli
pangran étja numpak
lembu mamprung tan kaèksi
iku sasmita kang prapta.

13 Ki Djanodin wus tangi dènira guling
getun impènira
sampun katjaṭet ing ati
kaja-kaja djeng pangéran.

14 Kalih dalu nèng Masdjid Séla nenepi
éndjang sami medal
ladjeng numpak palwa malih
wangsul wus teka Telatjap.

15 Sampun mangkat ing Pasir sinedyèng galih
Ki Djajamustapa
sakantjané sami bali
angétan nabrang bengawan.

16 Sampun praptèng Ngadiredja kilènèki
ngalor lampahira
ngambah wana pringga werit*
lampahira wiranḍungan.

17 Kalih dinten lampahé wus prapta Pasir
laminé winarna
pitung dinten pitung wengi
tirakat nèng pesaréjan.

18 Wus mangkana* pan ladjeng lampahirèki
tan kawarnèng marga
mring Apus kèndel sawengi
ing Gumelem sampun prapta.

19 Wonten ngriku pan sami kèndel sawengi
nepi pasaréjan
para wali kang utami
nenuwun ingkang barekah.

20 Kang tineḍa ardjané nagri Mentawis
hajwa kongsi rusak
rineksaa Mahasutji
ladjeng minggah mring aldaka.*

21 Wukir luhur sungil margane arumpil
wana gung gelagahan[1]
rajudan sumengkang wukir
Segara Windu wus prapta.

22 Wusnja dalu nèng Segara Windu nepi
duk kala semana
nèng wana gung putjak wukir
udan deres awor barat.

23 Sakelangkung asrepé kapati-pati
udan pantjawara
gumeḍeg swaraning ardi
ḍeḍemit umjunging* tawang.

[1]Line has one syllable too many.

24 Atur-atur swarané lelembat muni
tapa pernahira
tan tebih swara mareki
tan kèndel sadalu pisan.

25 Bjar raina sigra muḍun saking ardi
Gumelem wus prapta
ladjeng ngalèr lampahnjèki
Pekiringan kang sinedya.

26 Kawarnaa semana lampahé prapti
nenepi kuburan
sawengi makamé wali
kang [a]rannja[1] Wali Prakosa.

27 Duk semana wonten sesmita kang prapta
ingkang langsé musna
muluk binekta ing angin
kaja agung kaṭah rebah.

28 Nulja ladjeng ing Tjahjana sampun prapti
ja ta nèng Tjahjana
sedalu dènira nepi
kang langsé nora katingal.

29 Duk semana Djajamustapa lan Mobid
langkung susahira
sesmita datan ngénaki
deladjat negri Mentaram.

30 Kaja-kaja negara Mentaram iki
arep karusakan
djalarané apa béndjing
rusaké nagri Mentaram.

31 Éndjing ladju mring gunung Lawet sawengi
sipeng wonten marga
éndang munggah marang wukir
pasaréjan sampun prapta.

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[1]Line has one syllable too many. Suggest omit [a].

32 Wusnja donga munadjaté wanti-wanti
neḍa maring Allah
berkahé sinaré mriki
tan dangu wonten sesmita.

33 Tan antara langsé itjal tan kaèksi
sarta djurang bengkah
ladjeng djugrug anèng* siti
muḍun ngalor mring djudjurang.

34 Duk semana ki Mobid osikning ati
sasmitane Allah
pra wali rasaning njunggil
semuné akudangdangan.

CANTO VIII

Metre: Ḍanḍanggula

1 Tan antara muḍun saking wukir
kjai Mopid [ki][1] Djajamustapa
wiranḍungan sakantjané
pikir sadjroning kalbu
kang dèn atak* sesmita sami
rasan sarwi lumampah
ki Mopid amuwus
mangsa boronga* kang murba
kang misésa kang akarja bumi langit
temah rusaking djagat.

2 Dèn lebur anganti* rontang-ranting
mangsa ana kang bisa [malang-]malanga[2]
pesṭi dadi sakarsané
Djajanodin sumambung
amangsuli sebdaning Mopid
leres ḍawuh sampéjan
nerus ngèlmunipun
Allah kang murba misésa
wahdanijat ana nèng djagat puniki*
wit ora maring ora.

3 Alon-lonan ngétan lampahnèki
ing Tjibarang ingkang* sampun prapta
datan kawarna lampahé
semana sampun rawuh
anèng kana adon nenepi
sedalu pesaréjan*
éndjang munggah gunung
Merbabu prapta ing puntjak
Ngargadalem ing kono samja alinggih
ngaso-aso ambekan.

[1] Line has one syllable too few. Suggest add [ki].
[2] Line has two syllables too many. Delete [malang].

4 Sampun dangu ngaso napasnèki
mantjad* munggah* arsa mirsa kawah
Tjandragumuka swarané
kaja pa warnanipun
pan gumuruh swaranirèki
gja muḍun marang kawah
dulu kaduk purun
kijai Djajamustapa
anungkuli wau dènira ningali
ketangkep kukus kawah.

5 Ladjeng sumaput panonirèki
napasira mapan wus tan* medal
larut bijas ing tjahjané
kurang saṭiṭik lampus
gja ginèndèng mundur anenggih
dangu dènnja kantaka
duk semana émut
bubar angsul pernahira*
muḍun djurang-djurang djro kelangkung tebih
sarwi dipun rerampa.*

6 Mring rowangé kang sami djagani
Ngargadalem lampahé wus prapta
tur peteng ḍeḍet gunungé
nulja ampuwan rawuh
barat agung djawah njarengi
lésus [a]sru[1] pantjawara
swara ing* galuḍug
peteng limeng sabuwana
kadi wengi ampuwan gung ingkang prapti
aserepira kalintang.

7 Ḍasar peḍut lawan kurang* bukti
pan pinarag ampuwan nèng Ngarga
Djamustapa sru sambaté

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[1]Line has one syllable too few. Suggest omit [a].

tan wurung ingsun lampus
uwang titir kang wadja gaṭik[1]
praptané kang ampuwan
beḍug wajahipun
sareng asar sirna hilang
kang ampuwan sirna hilang surja midjil
maruta sampun sirna.

8 Éndjing tumurun sangking wukir
tan* kawarna lampahé nèng marga
ing Pentongan* prapta agé
pan ladjeng munggah gunung
ing Merapi kawah nenepi
kalih dalu nèng kawah
ja ta sami muḍun
langkung èwedé kang marga
duk munggahé kang marga kelangkung sungil
djurangé lamat-lamat.

9 Kurang ṭiṭik mèh wangsul ing margi
awit saking angèlé kang marga
wirang bali dalan baé
prapta ing anḍap sampun
ladjeng mantuk pan sampun lami
sèket dinané paran
kedaloning henu
lampahira sampun prapta
nèng Kuwaron nèng masdjid sipeng sawengi
Ki Mopid asupena.

10 Tijang sepuh satunggal marani
namanira Ki Geḍé ing Séla
alon wau pamupusé
Dipanegara bésuk
meksa arep amurwèng urip*
ngrata agama sarak

djinurung Al-Sabur
sinung rahmat ingkang Mulja
nanging ana béka rentjanané béndjing
sisipi* sembir wruh bakal.

11 Jèn sumimpang ing patang prakawis
hudjubrija tekabur sumengah
pesṭi lulusé karepé
jèn adoh saking iku
lamun nradjang patang prakawis
rahmat hidajat benggang*
wangsul* wahjunipun
lan maning ana bégalan
jèn tan awas murungaken bakal adji
rowang nala kang* hala.

12 Kawarnaa éndjang wus lumaris
waktu* magrib prapta Tegalredja
sampun katur sedajané
sigra ngandikan gupuh
praptèng ngarsa sedaja sami
anḍèr munggèng ajunan
djeng pangran lon muwus
kabèh paḍa kaslametan
kang dinuta sedaja umatur aris
asal berkah paduka.

13 Angandika malih radjasiwi
kaja paran mungguh lakunira
awit angkatira bijèn*
tansah dadi tyasingsun
apa baja kang sira panggih
wasit miwah sesmita
Ki Mopid umatur
tuwin ki Djajamustapa
lampah kula sedaja ulun lampahi
inggih ḍawuh paduka.

14 Mung satunggal kawula tan dugi
inggih ḍateng panggènan sekar[1]
Djajakusuma margané
mawi prabéja agung
abdi dalem boten kadugi
anjukani prabéja
ḍateng tijang ḍusun
sedaja wus kalampahan
sampun katur miwiti malah mekasi
lamat wasit sesmita.

15 Ing sasolah-solahé tinuding
sedajané tan ana kang giṭang
narpaputra lon sabdané
ija tarima ingsun
kèndel osik sakdjroning galih
lamun* kaja mangkonoa
pralambang kang ḍawuh
ija negara Mentaram
hura-huri djalaran saking ing mami
terus karsaning Allah.

16 Bubar mantuk sedaja prasami
djeng pangéran pan kantun pijambak
nèng séla gilang pernahé
putek tyas sang abagus
ngraosaken sagungé wasit
kang sampun sami ḍawah
punika kagugu
keraos-raos ing drija
kaja paran déningsun djumeneng adji
anèng pradja Mentaram.

17 Jèn Welanda mèlu amengkoni
banget gèsèh lan daliling kitab
dadi gawé tan sagawé
ingsun mikir keḍatun

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[1] Line has one syllable too few.

ing ajunan ingsun tinagih
éwa mengkana uga
jèn wis takdiripun
jèn ingsun dadi djalaran
panedaku mring Allah kang Mahasutji
muga sun tinrimaa.

18 Djumenenga nalèndra agami
madeg* ana ing rat Nusa Djawa
babon anglakokaké
saraké kangdjeng Rasul
adja tjampur lawan wong kapir
muga Allah nantosakna.
paringa pitulung
maring ing sakadjatingwang
lan sagungé kang anut agama Nabi
ija djeng Nabi duta.

19 Santosakna* sarta basuki
anèng donja praptèng ing akérat
tinarimaa imané
dalu salat sang bagus
kadjat pinres raosing galih
ja ta nulja na swara
munggèng karnanipun
dumeling udjaring swara
kagèt wungu sigra utusan nimbali
kjai Djajamustapa.

20 Prapta ngarsa pangran ngandika ris
marma sira sun timbali ija
sapungkurmu tan asuwé
ngong salat kadjat iku
ana swara luwih dumeling
ana ing karnaningwang
mangkana kang tutur
wus karilan maring Allah
dadi ratu adji tekabur sirèki
jèn nradjang wurung bakal.

21 Apa tutur ija saking iblis
apa saking wisiking malékat
Djajamustapa* aturé
sumangga sang abagus
saweg-saweg* wetawis gusti
inggih saking malékat
sawab djeng pukulun
lebar saking salat kadjat
sanès éblis pangran ngandika aris
apa karsaning Allah.

22 Djeng pangéran angandika aris
ingong pasrah sakarsané Allah
djer kawula nora duwé
bener kalawan luput
amung Allah ingkang akardi
Djajamustapa mulia
sigra nembah mundur
narpaputra pesaréjan* keladjeng
narpaputra ladjeng guling
munggèng séla gegilang.

23 Nda tatita pan sampun alami
djeng pangéran rinembug Welanda
dèn telik-telik solahé
Mister Semitsar iku
njatakaken pan sampun jekti
Radèn Dipati Danurdja
sampun atur rembug
residèn dèrèng pertjaja
ing samangké wus njatakaken pribadi
datan sumelang ing tyas.

24 Ingaturan pista marang Lodji
tan kelilan* bekta abdi katah
pangéran wus pirsa karepé
njata Welanda iku

temen-temen ngarah mring mami
ja ingsun ingaturan
pista Lodji agung
tan suka anggawa rowang*
tanḍa temen Welanda harep ngapusi
sun pasrah maring Allah.

25 Lamun Allah durung amarengi
sakarepé Welanda tan sida
ngalani marang awakingong[1]
tindak sang radjasunu*
prapt̀eng Lodji sedaj̀eng linggih
tansah pasrah mring Allah
djroning galih nekung
lenggah nora kaja adat pareng*
tjelak abdi sedaja tan pareng* tebih
Welanda èwed kang karsa.

26 Dèn aturi lumebet ing Lodji
ingkang ngirit* djeng pangran tan arsa
wus pirsa Welanda* karepé
pineksa datan purun
dadya éwuh dènnja ngapusi
Welanda sami menggah
ing karsané wurung
wus dangu sami bubaran
sang residèn arapet tembungé betjik
ṭan wonten éwuhira.

27 Sampun lami dinuga wus lali
djeng pangéran malih ingaturan
ḍumateng Lodji geḍé
pangéran datan purun
asengadi duk lagi sakit
Welanda tan* grahita
pangéran wus weruh

[1]Line has one syllable too many.

kang dadi karep Welanda
nora lami anulja dipun aturi
maring Bedaja pista.

28 Pista ageng-agung ing kumpeni
Mister Semitsar ingkang anadar
pangéran teḍak karsané
ambekta wadya satus
pipilijan ingkang ginangsing
djeng pangéran nitih rata
Bedaja wus rawuh
Welanda kelangkung kaṭah
wus miranti nèng kantor sadjroning Lodji
djeng pangéran lenggah djaba.

29 Pan ingadjak mring resiḍèn tan apti
wali-wali pangéran tan arsa
anèng djro banget gerahé
nèng djaba awakingsun
énak ésés asilir-silir*
mangka ingkana béda*
Semitsar adjentung
wus kapriksa kawanguran
sampun dènnja pista bubar sami mulih
praptané Tegalredja.

30 Djeng pangéran garegut kang galih
dadya madeg surasaning werdaja[1]
mjarsa rembugé wong akèh
sinunduk jektinipun
lan resiḍèn karepirèki
kumpul lan Danuredja
lan malih kang rembug
djeng pangéran Paku Alam

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1 Line has one syllable too many.

ingkang éjang saking misuwur ingkang warti[1]
ing karsa jun kinasap.

31 Tegalredja pan arsa ginitik
wikan dalu àtanapi sijang
osiking tyas wis pestiné
Allah kang Mahaagung
ingsun murwa ing perang sabil
lah ija pati apa
manungsa dèn luru
kedjaba pati utama
donjakérat wus midak saréngat Nabi
karsané Allahtangallah.[2]

32 Pan kawula tan kena sumingkir
pati urip lara lan kapénak
api ora pangandikané[3]
kabèh sarupanipun
uwong Tegalredja jèn wengi
adja na djroning omah
gegaman ja kantjan[4]
pada anaa ing dadah
lan maningé sarupané bekel dési
kang pada trisna ingwang.

33 Pada djagaa maringsun jèn wengi
wus kalakon kalih dalu djaga
nèng dadah sagegamané
kawertèng dusun-dusun
kang trisna mring kangdjeng gusti
djaga mring Tegalredja

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1 Line has one syllable too many.

2 Line has one syllable too many.

3 Line has one syllable too many.

4 Line has incorrect vowel ending, which should be [u].

langkung kaṭahipun
tigangatus winantara
lamun sijang sedaja wus bubar mulih
sanget angon iriban.

34 Bawanipun wadya kèh tan keni
warta gumrah* sadjroning negara
malah wuwuh pawartané
tan keṇḍat saben dalu
djalma ḍateng selur anggili
marang ing Tegalredja
ngadeg barisipun
parintah marang wong désa
poma-poma adja pegat ngati-ati
kumpeni wus ketara.

35 Dènnja arep mrih lara wak mami
geder* gumrah sapradja Mentaram
munḍak-munḍak pawartané
kangdjèng pangéran tamtu
ngadeg kraman nggitik negari
pandjangé kang* pawarta
sapradja misuwur
karsané kangdjeng pangéran
wulan Sura wedalé saking Negari
nèng Slarong madeg nata.

36 Djeng pangran tansah tikbra kang galih
awit saking wartané wong kaṭah
tinerka karsa madeg katong[1]
karsa ngrusak Mentaram
radjasunu mupusing galih
ija kinapakena
djer saderma iku
kabèh kang agawé warta
mobah-mosik atas Allah kang akardi
mangsa sun undurana.

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[1]Line has one syllable too many.

CANTO IX

Metre: Durma

1 Lon ngandika pangéran Dipanegara
ḍumateng ingkang abdi
kang sepuh sedaja
Lah paran rembagira
déné ta warta puniki
wus masjur ingwang*
tinerka awak mami.

2 Arsa ngraman madeg nèng* kraton Mentaram*
aturé para abdi
tamtu Tegalredja
dèn lurugi* Welanda
jèn pareng karsané gusti
luwung sedaja*
sampun Tegal* ta gusti.

3 Lawan malih kawula mijarsa warta
tijang Danurdjan warti
ḍumateng kawula
samangké Tegalredja
tinarka wus madeg baris
ḍateng Walanda
sawab kelamun wengi.

4 Langkung kaṭah baris wonten Tegalredja
kaduké kang pawarti
éwon djalma prapta
Welanda kang utusan
telikipun sijang latri
pangran ngandika
jèn mangkono kang warti.

5 Samengkoné ingsun ora* kena ontjat
sawabé si Kumpeni
atiné tan lenggah*

jèn sun maksih nèng Djawa
tinarka ngéwuh-éwuhi*
kinapakena
pesṭiné awak mami.

6 Lah gawéja surat marang wonging désa
sapa kang trisna mami
paḍa ngujunana
bala wong désa-désa
apa déné batur mami
kang tuwa-tuwa
sun angkat tumenggung sami.[1]

7 Anjekela surat prataṇḍa sakingwang
kelawan etjap muni
prataṇḍa dèn wenang
ngujuni mring wong désa
nguju* désa sakanan-kéring
ja ta gung pisan
sun murwèng perang sabil.

8 Angimami agama ing tanah Djawa
lamun nututa mami
mangsa wurunga binuwang[2]
dadi nora karuwan
mungguh lakuné agami
pira bara ta
jèn ardja laku mami.

9 Pesṭi adil agama djeng rasulallah*
ana ing tanah Djawi
semana wus dadya
karsané narpaputra
dalu kaṭah djalma prapti*
désa mjang pradja
tuwin abdi pradjurit.

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[1]Line has one syllable too many.

[2]Line has two syllables too many.

10 Mantri djero Pinilih Ketanggung Njutra
marek sang radja pekik
ngaturken sedyanja
nḍèrèk ing sakarsa
timbalané radjasiwi
angon iriban
poma dèn ngati-ati.

11 Nadyan putra sentana kaṭah kang prapta
ing wengi dènnja prapti
Manḍung Wirabradja
tanapi Bradjanala
Suranata sami prapti
pradjurit Pantjas
Daéng prasami prapti.

12 Surjagama sakilèn kali Winonga
sujud samija prapti
ḍawuhé pangéran
sampun wradin sedaja
dèn pesṭi dinané sami
paḍa pepaka
ing sasi Sura iki.

13 Tanggal pitu ing wengi paḍa tekaa
ésuk ngepung negara
kulun maḍep ngétan
déné kidul negara
mangalor aḍepirèki
kang lèr negara
bandjur ngobong-obongi.

14 Sampun dadya sakaṭahé kang rinembag
wradin kang labuh sami
désa lan negara
ngantosi kang ubaja
wulan Sura dènnja anti*
pan dèrèng prapta*
semajanira* sami.

15 Kawarnaa resiḍèn Mister Semitsar
terang pamirsanèki
tamtu Tegalredja
madeging naléndra
wit telik Danuredja nenggih
momor wong kaṭah
ing rembag wruh pribadi.

16 Pakumpulan nèng Lodji para Welanda
mjang Danuredja patih
tuwin pra pangéran
karsanira Semitsar
betjiké dipun ḍingini
jèn nganti ngerda
munḍak akèh pepati.

17 Tegalredja winarna wajang-wujungan
kang tipis galihnèki
pan saduwèkira
ingilèkaken samja
lunga mberod* mangsa ratri
pangran parintah
adja na wong kang ngili.

18 Kangdjeng ratu utusan mring Danuredja
ngénggalaken anggitik
marang Tegalredja
mumpung durung akaṭah[1]
kumpulé bala désa
Danuredja Dyan Dipati
aglis aséba
lumebu marang Lodji.

19 Sampun panggih kelawan Mister Semitsar
ḍinawuhaken nuli
djeng ratu karsanja
sigra Mister Semitsar

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[1]Verse 18 has one line too many; either line 4 or 5 is superfluous.

nimbali bupati sidji
bupati prapta
méntar ingkang tinuding.

20 Tan adangu kijai Sindunegara
sampun prapta djro Lodji
sigra ḍinawuhan
kinèn mring Tegalredja
ngaturi djeng pangran aglis
Dipanegara
malebuwa mring Lodji

21 Jèn tan arsa sira nuli umatura
apa ta sababnèki
jèn bengi kèh djalma
kumpul nèng Tegalredja
dyan Sindunegara aglis
sigra umangkat
Tegalredja wus prapti.

22 Inggal katur kijai Sindunegara
sowan wonten ing djawi
sigra tinimbalan
tan dangu praptèng arsa
radjaputra ngandika ris
dinuta paran
laku andika mariki.

23 Inggih amba wijosé gusti dinuta
sudara dalem gusti
resiḍèn Semitsar
paduka ingaturan
pinaraka ḍateng Lodji
pangran ngandika
ngong dudu* botjah mami.

24 Angandika pangéran Dipanegara
ḍateng sagunging dasih

paran karepira
ingsun diundang Welanda
lumebu marang ing Lodji
paḍa matura
jèn sira lila mami.

25 Jèn tan lila lah paḍa sira matura
jèn bisa marang mami
ki Djajamustapa
matur lamun paduka
amunḍut aturing dasih
inggih sedaja
rempeg aturing dasih.

26 Boten rila paduka lamun tindaka
pinarak ḍateng Lodji
djer tan ardjèng karsa
inggih ta pun Welanda
jèn tuwan sinaput* gusti
sinten kang béla
jèn wonten djroning Lodji.

27 Nadyan taksih kaṭaha para sentana
negari ing Mentawis
gih mangsa purana*
angrebat béla pedjah
pangéran lingira aris
Sindunegara
sira matùra aglis.

28 Mring resiḍèn manira nora tumindak
sabab aturku sami
kabèh nora rembag
matur Sindunegara
pan amba dinuta malih
matur paduka
Tegalredja puniki.

29 Saben dalu abdi dalem langkung kaṭah
ngriki wonten punapi
pangran lon ngandika
ija Sindunegara
mulané bengi kèh djalmi
pan paḍa trisna
kabèh marang ing mami.

30 Ija paḍa rumeksa mring awakingwang
dèn antjam kètju maling
akèh sedya hala
matur Sindunegara
gusti sinten ingkang wani
pangran ngandika
betjik wong ngati-ati.

31 Sindupradja sampun pamit sigra medal
tan dangu praptèng Lodji
wus katur sedaja
wiwitan lan wekasan
sabarang rèhira tinuding
umatur wetja
resiḍèn langkung runtik.

32 Suku nggedrug* topi binanting médja
sarwi sru dènnja angling
lan [ija][1] Sindunegara
bener arep ngeraman
temen wani mring Kumpeni
rainé abang
djadja lir metu geni.

33 Genti kotjap wau ta kangdjeng pangéran
langkung susahing galih
dèné dèrèng prapta
masanirèng ubaja

[1]Line has two syllables too many. Suggest omit [ija].

sedaja kang samja djangdji
selak kasesa
pesṭiné dèn ingini.

34 Djeng pangéran ing dalu akarja surat
sinung sedaja sami
mring kang sagah trisna
mbélani ngadeg kraman
samja kinèn ngati-ati
wradin sedaja
satjanḍak-tjanḍaknèki.

35 Kawarnaa ing Lodji wus apradandan
dlegunder ngati-ati
mrijem dinandanan
wadya Pakualaman
Danurdjan sampun miranti
sami sedaja
samongsa-mongsa nggitik.

36 Kawarnaa wau ki Sindunegara
éndjing dinuta malih
ija ngaturana
pangéran Dipanegara
ngaturan pinarak Lodji
lamun tan arsa
pinaraka mring puri.

37 Jèn tan arsa pinarak sadjroning pura
Mangkubumèn ja betjik
resiḍèn karsanja
papanggijan sakeḍap
Sindupradja mangkat aglis
tan dangu prapta
Tegalredja tumuli.

38 Gja tumanduk ngarsané kangdjeng pangéran
duk semana kang dasih
pepakan sedaja

sumiwèng munggèng arsa
Sindupradja matur aris
amba dinuta
marang Resiḍèn gusti

39 Djeng paduka marang ing Lodji ingaturan
jèn [tan][1] arsa mring Lodji
pepanggihan keḍatyan[2]
jèn tan arsa djro pura
Mangkubumèn sami panggih
lawan Welanda
pirembag kang prajogi.

40 Jèn tan arsa pinarak panggéran tiga
paran pinunḍut gusti
Resiḍèn sumagah
nurut karsa paduka
mung sampun kepandjang gusti
andamel risak
ngémana mring wong tjilik.

41 Djeng pangéran asru dènira ngandika
lah ija uwis-uwis
jèn sanggup Semitsar
ngong djaluk nora lija
Danurdja Wiranegari
ing langira
teka pradja Mentawis.

42 Djer puniku kang gawé riwut* negara
tan redja ing Mentawis
jèn isih Danurdja
lawan Wiranegara
pangéran ngandika aris
uwis tutura
marang Resiḍèn aglis.

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[1]Line has one syllable too few; [tan] is suggested which fits the meaning.

[2]Line has one syllable too many.

43 Tan antara kijai Sindunegara
anulja medal aglis
ja ta kawarnaa
Mangkubumi pangéran
prapta nabda dèrèng linggih
tolé lah paran
ngandikaa wong manis.

44 Aku iki dikonkon marang Semitsar
residèning Mentawis
tinempuhken ingwang
dènnja arsa panggijan
lawan kowé amrih betjik
sun kon anggunga
ngedabiyah* nampingrèki.

45 Lan gebalé tolé ing werangkanira
sun tanggung sira kaki
kang putra tan arsa
kang rama lon ngandika
jèn mangkono ingsun iki
tan wurung pedjah
jèn sira nora kérid.

46 Bali mati mogok nora wurung pedjah
kang putra matur aris
pilih pundi rama
séda Islam lan kapir*
kang rama mrangu* tan angling
ndjetung kéwala
kang putra matur aris.

47 Jèn makaten paduka puniku rama
kinèn mbudjuk mring mami
ing mangké paduka
sampun katjakup kula
mangsa kersa mbéla mami*
jekti paduka
adjrih dateng Kumpeni.

48 Djeng pangran Mangkubumi alon ngandika
lah* uwis putra mami
sun labuhi sira
begdja lawan tjilaka
anggèr sira sun bélani
djamaké bapa
lan anak mati urip.

49 Djeng pangéran ngandika marang kang garwa
Radèn Aju dèn aglis
dandana ngilija
marang Silarong kana
sabarang gawanèn sami
sapangkat-pangkat
mangsa wurung djurit.

50 Arta pitjis pada sira wetokena
dumna para pradjurit
kang trisna sedaja
nglabuhi maranging wang
dèn werata dipun adil
gja binagé gal
sedaja wus weradin.

51 Radèn Aju Mangkubumi tinimbalan
dalu tan wonten uning
barang sampun telas
budalé wandji asar
ing Silarong kang dèn usi
Bahwi Muhamad
dadya sirah pangiring.

52 Wonten déné wadya ingkang katah-katah
andèr ngarsa sang pekik
samekta gegaman
waos sendjata* pedang
déné sadjawining puri
bala wanodya
lir gabah dèn interi.

53 Ing sela mrung sijang dalu tanpa nénda
kerta pangalanda nenggih[1]
radèn Madyakrama
kelawan Suradjaja
embané sang radjasiwi
ki Tirtaredja
lulurah anèng ngarsi.

54 Trawinangun kelawan Djajamuhamad
lurah lenggahirèki
Tirtaredja muwah
Kjai Djajamustapa
tan sumiwèng ngarsèng gusti
saweg tamuwan
kang baḍé tulung djurit.

55 Kartanagri dinginipun Amad Darsah
Djajapenawang nenggih
ki Muljasentika
aran Djajanegara
lèr nagri baḍé ngujuni
wus sami prapta
singidan patjak baris.

56 Abdi dalem sedaja kulon Winanga
pan sampun samja bali
tumut Tegalredja
miranti sesingidan
samangsa katon pradjurit
sangking negara
dèn peṭuk kilèn kali.

57 Éndjingira kijai Sindunegara
ja ta dinuta malih
marang Tegalredja
ngaturi djeng pangéran

---

1 Line has one syllable too many.

nanging wuri sampun rakit
[We]landa[1] kumerab
baḍé ngantep ing djurit.

58 Baḍé njekel pangéran Dipanegara
jèn bangga dèn awisi*
rembagipun Danurdja
lawan Wiranegara
mring resiḍèn aturnèki
gandra punapa
pangéran Dipanegari.

59 Nadyan siliha digdaja* awor lan méga
sunḍul ḍateng ing langit
kawula tan ulap
keḍik wong Tegalredja
suwé midjet wohing ranti
nadyan wageda
malih buta sakeṭi.

60 Wus kagegem pangéran Dipanegara
munggèng selaning daridji
mangsa wageda gagal
saking ing asta kula
sumbaré kèh kang kawidjil
[We]landa[2] kotbuta
tuwin radèn dipati.

61 Wirjanagri putranèki Wiraguna
tumut ninḍihi baris
kotjap Sindupradja
dinuta ambudjuka
Tegalredja sampun prapti
umarak ngarsa
ladjeng umatur aris.

---

1 and 2
MS. has [landa] which accords with metre.

62 Lawan malih njepengi Wiranegara
jèn sampun dèn talèni
punapa kang karsa
Residèn nut kéwala
punapa dipun wudjuwing
napa sinolah
napa dipun lampusi.

63 Narpaputra ngandika lon dé mangkana
ja temen-temen betjik
lah pajo sun tindak
ngong panggih lan Welanda
saweg étja gunem kawis
datan antara
mrijem awanti-wanti.

64 Djeng pangéran langkung kagèt amijarsa
mrijem awanti-wanti
ambreg kang senapan
djeng pangran sru ngandika
Sindupradja dèn tudingi
Sindunegara
paran rembugirèki.

65 Sindupradja sigra medal gurawalan
sagah ngundurken baris
kuda njander njongklang
aperang* bebedilan
kulon kali wétan kali
surak-sinurak
kepanggih pada wani.

66 Dyan dipati Danuredja nindihi juda
wétan tamping ngebjuki*
dyan Wiranegara
ladju terus barisnja*
nangkebi ngebjuki djurit
tjampuh ing juda
tan ana ngutjap adjrih.

67 Surakira swarané anglir ampuan
awor swaraning beḍil
wadya Tegalredja
nanging karoban lawan
angukih-ukih kawalik*
sendjata munja
mimis datan ngoberi.

68 Raméning prang tambuh musuh lawan rowang
dedel ukihing ukih
mrije tunḍa-tunḍa
mapan pradjuritira*
saking kidul améntari
Tompéjan méntar
saking Bulu[warti][1] méntari.

69 Wirapradja prangira kelangkung panggah
Djadirdja luranèki
lan pradjurit Pantjas
nama anom Widjaja
kiwul ngamuk mrijem Wlandi
kaṭah kang pedjah
Kumpeni njelod* wani.

70 Mrijemira ḍangḍung-ḍangḍung* anglir gelap
anglir rubuh kang wukir
maksih raméning prang
Tegalredja kébekan
putra mantu ngamuk nguni
putra Keranggan
tumbak agemirèki.

71 Apeparab radèn mas Djajaprawira
lawung ngembat kumitir
bagus warnanira
pantes andoning laga

---

[1] MS. has [bulu], which accords with metre. [Buluwarti] is suggested.

numbak Wlanda lir tjitjinḍil
ngamuk manengah
angedrèl wanti-wanti.

72 Djajadirdja lelurahing Wirapradja
ambek sura adjurit
panggah judanira[1]
Kumpeni angangseg wani
peteng gap-gapan*
déning* kukusing beḍil

73 Djajadirdja lelurahing Wirabradja
sakantjanira njirig*
njirig kang turangga
undurira lon-lonan
sinander marang Kumpeni
sinambet peḍang
Djajadirdja bilahi.

74 Gja pinutar* mrijem saking ing kanan
anulja mundur aglis
wonging Tegalredja
krépotan judanira
akaṭah ingkang bilahi
ananḍang brana
manah kaṭah kang miris.

75 Kawarnaa pangéran Dipanegara
lan pangran Mangkubumi
semana tumeḍak
ndjenengi ajuda
binéndrong mrijem lan beḍil
mawur sangsrangan
mimis kadi gurimis.

76 Samja giris mimis tiba anglir hudan
djeng pangran Mangkubumi

[1]Following line d is missing from MS.

sumingab tyasira
ngandika mring kang putra
ṭolé pajo nglèngsèr ḍingin
pradjuritira
kéles karoban tanḍing.

77 Gja lumèngsèr pangéran Dipanegara
lan pangran Mangkubumi
ngilèn lampahira
lèpèn Bajem wus nabrang
Kumpeni angangseg sami
Djajamustapa
répot lampahirèki.

78 Anèng wuntat kapleter-pleter djeblakan
katututan Kumpeni
ngadjeng katjegatan
kanan kéring sendjata
lumaju tan angsal margi
tinilar kantja
dadya tyas ngati-ati.

79 Gja tumanḍang angamuk ngulati marga
lawungé mobat-mabit
Kumpeni kang tjelak
tinumbak kaperdjaja
tjinanḍak kantjanirèki
nèng luhur kuda
mundur ladjeng ngemasi.

80 Ingkang kilèn nutulpetis anjendjata
sigra tinumbak mati
ki Djajamustapa
kanan* kénging sendjata
nganḍap suku ingkang kanan[1]
peteng tingalnja
sampun anjipta pati.

---

[1] Line has incorrect final vowel ending which should be [i].

81 Tjiptanira sadjroning drija mangkana
drema baé Kumpeni*
déné ingkang kaṭah
mbeḍil saking kadohan
mangkana osiking ati
Djajamustapa
mangsa ngong bisa urip.

82 Wong Welanda ingkang pedjah pan titiga
nulja bubar ngunduri
baris djadjar ngétan
munggèng ing ratan umjang
ja ta samja aningali
saking kadohan
Djajamustapa linggih.

83 Nèng galengan anjipta pedjah kéwala
osiking djroning ati[1]
Allah kang sipat kodrat
jèn èstu amba ngemasi
gusti* kawula
pangéran Dipanegari.

84 Mugi-mugi tuwan wurung sakarsanja
jèn amba tuwan paring
taksih awèt gesang
mugi kula panggihna*
lan gusti sang narpasiwi
Djajamustapa
kaniné sigra medal.

85 Nganḍap suku* kang kraos sanget tikbranja*
angadeg tan kuwawi
pasrah maring Allah
munadjat djro wardaja

---

1 Following line c missing from MS.

ḍikir donga djroning ati
ingkang katjipta
Allah kang Mahasutji.

86 Dangu-dangu sampun aring napasira
nulja wau lumaris
sinéréd tumbaknja
lumebet padésan[1]
Kumpeni datan nututi
karsané Allah
tinakdir durung pati.

87 Apan ladjeng nalusup mandjing ing désa
tilem sanganḍaping pari*
wus aso napasnja
arsa nusul pangéran
anulja kesaput latri
sanget petengnja
datan wikaning margi.

88 Meksa nékad dènnja ngulati bendara
lampahira ngerintih
mlampah murang marga
kjai Djajamustapa
napasira mempis-mempis
samarga-marga
kudandangan ngulati.

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[1] Line has one syllable too few.

SPECIFICATIONS OF METRES USED

<u>Asmaradana</u>

Line number	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
No. of syllables	8	8	8	8	7	8	8
Final vowel ending	i	a	é,o	a	a	u	a

<u>Ḍanḍanggula</u>

Line number	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j
No. of syllables	10	10	8	7	9	7	6	8	12	7
Final vowel ending	i	a	é,o	u	i	a	u	a	i	a

<u>Sinom</u>

Line number	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i
No. of syllables	8	8	8	8	7	8	7	8	12
Final vowel ending	a	i	a	i	i	u	a	i	a

<u>Pangkur</u>

Line number	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
No. of syllables	8	11	8	7	12	8	8
Final vowel ending	a	i	u	a	u	a	i

<u>Kinanṭi</u>

Line number	a	b	c	d	e	f
No. of syllables	8	8	8	8	8	8
Final vowel ending	u	i	a	i	a	i

<u>Putjung</u>

Line number	a	b	c	d
No. of syllables	12	6	8	12
Final vowel ending	u	a	i*	a

<u>Maskumambang</u>

Line number	a	b	c	d
No. of syllables	12	6	8	8
Final vowel ending	i	a	i	a

---

* the text also shows [é].

Durma

Line number	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
No. of syllables	12	7	6	7	8	5	7
Final vowel ending	a	i	a	a	i	a	i

VARIAE LECTIONES

CANTO I

1a sumja, 1b galihjé, 1f delete ja at end of line for metre; 2a akami; 5a nudju; 6c kumpini; 7e sirta; 9d nampar-nampar; 12g sahawa; 13c Ajundja; 14a hanging; 15a pribandaḍi; 22g date i.o. matur; 32e parèntahira; 34f tuwin; 37f sidarum; 38f sadurum; 43d parèntahnja; 44b Dipanegari.

CANTO II

1d gumantjara; 4e éjangèrèki, 4i lupa; 7a marmahingsun, 7d kakangèrèku; 8f ginerbeḍ; 9a kundur; 10b angerih; 15i akoplak-kamplik; 16h tinabela; 17g émam; 18g srat Surakartéku, 18h nata, 18h rata; 19b teku wargati resi ningrat;

The emendations to this line are important as they involve a chronogram. [Teku] to [telu] needs little explanation and gives the reading '3'. 'Warga' has the meaning six, which when taken with resi (7) and ningràt (1) gives 1-7-6-3 as the chronogram. This means 1835 A.D., an impossible date for the event referred to. However if 'warga' is read as warṇa (warna) (and the symbols for (g) and (ṇ) are similar enough to allow for a copyist's error) then 'warna' which has the value 4 gives the chronogram 1-7-4-3, which is 1814 (1815 A.D.). This is in fact the correct date as is revealed by the western sources. Thus it is suggested that the correct reading of this chronogram is:

telu warṇani[rè]ng resi ningrat

24f jèn ardjéng; 27c pinudu i.o. pinundut, 27d karuwun, 27f keng séba nèng keḍatyèn, 27g bineta i.o. dinusṭa; 29c harda pugal i.o. anunggal; 30c gahéh i.o. akéh; 31e tengah i.o. tunggak; 33c muru i.o. murub, 33d lida runurun lurung; 34i turangga; 36i sosi;

38e Dipanegara, 38j ingdjang i.o. inggal; 39j tetanaman i.o. petamanan; 40c tjenbé, 40g sri gila pinulu; 42h bok burung ngrungu tjarita; 43i tusus; 44e mesaṇḍani i.o. mertaṇḍani, 44j pugal; 45b manta i.o. mangkat; 46j kawang; 47b gigilang, 47i pansikatulmuluk; 48a persankĕna; 50f anpan i.o. apan; 52a sira, 52j wus ja; 54j galijé.

CANTO III

2b njamal; 3h kaḍangan; 9h sinupa i.o. sinaba; 10b sadji; 16g tangkĕba; 16h getyer; 17a muḍar; 20c minosa; 21a gowa, 21e punaka; 22d lir gunung kuḍ dosa mami, 22g djongka, 22h branten ing wjang; 25b prih, 25d salik; 30b sitinggal; 31i rerumpa; 32h wus agelang; 33i amruk minging lir kratoné dra buwana; 35 habarung; 36g lupa; 38c bat; 39i ratu Islam jèn baraka juswa heṇḍak; 40c wisma, 40i mata; 43b sirambi; 44a puri, 44b basal; 48f hudani; 54h pinudji; 55h manḍita; 56c angéntrénija; 57h léréna; 60a andéja; 61e malebukennja, 61g adarmita, 61h egén; 64b kajén, 64d angubedi; 65h lepaṭ, 65h mara; 66 mengkuh; 67g selaha; 68d nambur; 69d ring.

CANTO IV

3a mandjung; 4c djang; 6a sindurdjajan; 7e beṭuh; 8a kéndel tjiptan penbda; 11f ḍokol; 14e néng silarong kula kéndjing wajahipun; 16e inggih talah kula ngagépén tetungkul; 17b serak, 17e selaja; 20a kikam; 25e nawala; 28e praṣṭéng; 29a kasadji, 29g amastuti; 30e wadjasipun; 32f kapang; 33a makrak; 40b alik; 42b nerpasisi; 43b banglang, 43e njahiletru; 44b bantjol; 46f amebèngkat; 47b dosja; 49b tebas i.o. tanpa; 51g kalén; 55b Tegal; 56c rusuh; 57c muh, 57d ngesakaken; 60d katompéjan; 61b lesah, 61b angidiri; 62b djiri; 64e tabokana aja ḍasé dimén ngelu; 68g angikid-ikid; 72b baka; 73c sinapulk;

74c pan nijat, 74c selamipun; 76b tenggak, 76f rinembut; 77e wadawina; 79a tinampèk, 79g lelakonèrèki.

CANTO V

5b dèn adji, 5d pahéta; 7b sakrasa; 11f rengteng; 13b kenbat; 13e tanampan; 14f neksa; 15d dadananan; 16a titi; 17f sisik; 19 verse 19 repeated with line [f] of verse 18, before correct version of verse 19; 21e wong gir dalalé djawab; 31f ngidini; 35d atumèmèng, 35e gepuh; 39a djerta; 40b tanampik; 44a karuwun; 47b brangta; 50a tinantjan; 52d rina wengi ngorak-arik.

CANTO VI

3c galijé; 6c sang; 10a lok-alok; 14a landa; 18a mosa, 18b gobras; 29d djuwah; 31c awon sahésok; 32b njarog; 34d anger bang-bang; 35c makamipun wang Sultan Agung Mentaram; 37d gumundjuk; 39a gemah; 44c ija kahé Djajakusu néra bisa; 45b ḍan gonja; 47d sésuk; 50d desṭa; 51a anguter; 52a tan dangu nu.... rawuh; 53c ang ajah; 63a wusaperti, 63c patinggah; 67a teken; 70a penten.

CANTO VII

6a mulet, 6c jus; 7c gja rina; 11c sikilèrèki; 12a hajod; 16c mringga; 18a akono; 20d andaka; 23d humjang; 33c panéng.

CANTO VIII

1e dèn-atang, 1h baronga; 2a akosi, 2i punika; 3b kana, 3f sesaréjan; 4b mangtjad, 4b minggah; 5b ta, 5h pernahi, 5j rerapa; 6g ting; 72a kirang, 7e giṭik; 8b ta, 8c Penṭongan; 10e urit, 10j siḍip; 11c lulusa karepé, 11f begang, 11g nungsul, 11j kuhala; 12b wetu; 15f lamu; 16h sing; 18b maḍen; 19a santosaka; 21c Djajamu, 21e saweḍ-saweg; 22h sesaréjan, 22i néng gigilang before pan keladjeng (omitted because of metre); 24b kalan, 24h aga rowa;

25d radjasiwi, 25i rereng; 26c londa, 26b gupit; 27f ta; 29f mongsa sing arah béda; 34b gumréh; 35b gender, 35f ka.

CANTO IX

1f wjang; 2a madajéng, 2d lurugi, 2g sampun tagel ta gusti; 3b tijang Danuredjan warti; 5a hona, 5c lega; 7e ngraju, 7f ja tang gung pisan; 9a olah; 13g ngabongi-abongi; 14e kanting, 14g semananira; 17a wadang, 17e marod; 23g dangu; 26e tjinakup; 28e lan; 30b atjam; 42a riwuk; 44g bedahi; 46d kopir, 46e minggu; 47e mi; 48b jah; 52d sendjat pedang, 52f djalu; 53a ing sela mring busija dalu tan panénda; 57f londa; 58b dèn uwisi; 59a nadjan silih wadegda awor lan méga, 59b mundul; 62g kamusi; 65d kang perang; 66b wétan Tompé ngebjuki, 66d ladji bulu hutjulnja; 67e ketalik; 68d pinangutira, 68g bulu; 69g hjerod; 70a bandung-bandung; 71d wanter; 72f gagapan, 72g dénė; 73b ngisis; 74a pinéntar; 80d ingkana; 81b drema bahé numpeni; 83e nusti; 84d panggih-panggihena, 84g agra; 85a susu, 85a tingbrana, 85e ponga; 87b pring.

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ENGLISH SUMMARY

OF THE TEXT*

* Numbers next to paragraphs denote the verse number from which the summary begins. A paragraph may summarise more than one verse.

CANTO I

Introduction:

1) I am delighted to begin this story of Prince Dipanegara. I am pleased to copy this work for I, a Javanese gentleman living in Semarang, am in jail. 3) I am Mas Bèhi Suranegara, an excellent patih of Semarang. 5) I began to copy this work in the year Tata-lawang-adjaring-wong (1866 A.D.). I am copying the work of the bupati of Purwaredja.

6) The bupati has been promoted to the rank of raden dipati. It is the Dutch who have promoted him. He wrote this story in the year Bumi-ardi-resi-sidji (1843 A.D.).

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8) This story begins when the kingdom of Mataram (Jogjakarta) was visited by the punishment of God. The country was visited by a devastating storm and all the ulamas, santris and pangulus prayed that it might abate, but without success.[1]

13) Because of the arrival of God's judgement the reigning king (Sultan Sepuh) was exiled from the country and

1 In traditional Javanese literature wars, famine and natural disasters were depicted as the visitation of God's anger and punishment. God's anger was normally brought against the evil kings who ruled at the end of a millenium. Thus in Tjakranegara's estimation this particular disaster visited upon Sultan Sepuh presaged the end of Mataram. Many other signs were to confirm this. The 'storm' referred to here, and the visiting of God's punishment on Java, are poetical allusions to the invasion of Java by British forces in 1811, under the leadership of Governor Raffles.

his son succeeded him with the title Sunan Radja.[1] This king had sinned against his father.

14) Sunan Radja had two sons. The eldest was born of a minor wife and his name was Pangéran Dipanegara. The name of his younger son by the chief queen was Radèn Mas Bagus Suradja.

16) When his rule was established the king felt pity for his eldest son and called him to his presence. He declared that Dipanegara was to be made Crown Prince because it had already been promised to him,[2] and his brother moreover was still young and incapable of ruling.

20) Dipanegara however tearfully requested that his younger brother be made Crown Prince. The king agreed to this request and he offered Dipanegara rich lands in return, but the prince refused even these.

38) The king informed General Buntermas[3] (the ruler in Batavia) of his decision to appoint his younger son Radèn Mas Bagus, Crown Prince. 48) General Buntermas agreed to this and returned to Batavia.

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1 1812 A.D.

2 See Chapter II, History of Mataram.

3 The name Buntermas would seem to be derived from Thomas, the christian name of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, the Lt.-Governor of Java from 1811 to 1816. While in Java, Raffles became closely involved with events at the Jogjakarta court. The nomination of Radèn Mas Bagus as Crown Prince occurred between 1812 and 1814 (the year of his accession to the throne on the death of his father) and the English were ruling Java at this time. Raffles would therefore have been in a position to approve this elevation to the position of Crown Prince.

CANTO II

1) The king of Jogja soon came to regret his actions in helping the Welanda[1] exile of his father. In return for English assistance he had given away lands in Kedu and the and the Mantjanegara.[2] For these reasons he was sad in his heart, contemplating the destruction of his kingdom.

4) The king called his younger son the Crown Prince to his side and called on him to obey his elder brother Dipanegara. The king related how Dipanegara, when offered the position of Crown Prince, gave it up in favour of his younger brother. He then repeated his order that Dipanegara be obeyed. He also warned his son of Dipanegara's dislike of the Dutch: 'Your elder brother I have ordered to obey the President but he still desires to oppose the Dutch.' (7, e-f).

8) When he had been on the throne three years, the king went riding on horseback in the alun-alun (square). As he was making his third circuit of the square he became very sick. He trembled and began to sweat. He was immediately carried into the palace but he died.

11) All the religious scholars and teachers assembled in the Sri Menganti hall and prayed for the king. In the

[1]The Javanese word for Dutchmen, but Tjakranegara uses it consistently to refer to the English.

[2]The Mantjanegara were the outlying areas of the kingdom of 'Mataram' (Jogja-Surakarta), including the areas of Madiun, Magetan, Panaraga, Blitar and Kediri. The distinction was maintained in Java between the outer and inner precincts of the kingdom. See further S, Moertono, op.cit., pp.111-8, 'Territorial division of the Realm'.

presence of Hadji Hedrim, the Chief of the hadjis,[1] the body was washed. The ceremonies over, gifts were distributed to the mourners; the Chief of the Islamic religion received nine rials, the anom ketibs[2] three rials, the djadjar ketibs two rials, and all the hadjis and the modins[3] each received one rial. The poor also received alms.

13) One modin reflected that the death of the king had brought him prosperity. For three days his child had not eaten, but now he had one ringgit as his fee for praying for the dead Sultan. He took the money home to his wife who eagerly took it and said, smiling: 'O my husband, great are the blessings which fall on us because the Sultan has died.'[4]

18) The palace awaited the arrival of a messenger from Batavia with a letter confirming the Crown Prince's elevation to the kingship. Twenty days[5] after the death of the former king the letter came and the Crown Prince was made king.[6] His reign name was Sultan Bagus.[7]

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1 Those who have made the pilgrimage (the hadj) to Mecca.

2 A Ketib is a Muslim scribe.

3 Modin (Arabic: muezzin), one who calls the Islamic faithful to prayer.

4 Surely a veiled comment on the evils of the Sultan's reign.

5 Sultan Raja died on 3.11.1814 and Sultan Djarot was installed as his successor on 16.11.1814. Thus the actual delay seems to have been 13 days, and not 20 as stated here.

6 The chronogram given in the text is 'Telu-warnaning-resi ningrat', which is 1743 A.J. This gives the year 1814/15 A.D. Western sources reveal that Sultan Bagus (Djarot) became king in 1814 A.D. (c.f. Note 5 above). See verse 19, line 6.

7 He is better known as Djarot.

21) The new king was just reaching adolescence and his mother spoilt him a great deal. He was given young princesses as companions and his nurse was ordered to instruct him (in sexual matters). Dipanegara soon heard of this and was very angry.

23) He sent a letter to the Queen Mother complaining that the young king should not be educated in such things, because it would cause the degradation of the kingdom. She answered the letter immediately, agreeing to all that Dipanegara had said.

27) When he came of age, the king married, and the princess he chose was the daughter of the Danuredja who had been murdered in the kraton by Sultan Sepuh.[1] They loved each other and lived harmoniously.

29) One day the king ordered all his soldiers to wear Dutch uniforms.

30) When the king went out in his carriage for a pleasure ride, he was accompanied by 200 soldiers all dressed in Dutch uniforms. 100 preceded the carriage, 100 followed after.

31) The king ordered the houses within the fort to be arranged in quarters. Roads were to be marked by piles and if any house protruded beyond the markers it was to be pulled

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[1]This was Danuredja II, grandson of the first prince to hold this position peculiar to Jogjakarta. He was 'minister' from 1799 until his murder in 1811. Danuredja II was particularly hated by Sultan Sepuh because the former had assisted Governor-General Daendels to depose him in 1810 and replace him with his son (later Sultan Radja). With the arrival of the English in 1811 Sultan Sepuh regained the throne and used this opportunity to kill Danuredja II soon after his return to power.

down immediately. Coconut trees too were cut down. The populace were worried by these acts and said among themselves: 'This is a sign that there will be no prosperity.' (32 j)

33) The king went riding in his carriage. The accompanying soldiers rode on horses. The carriage went quickly, flying like the wind. Many soldiers were killed, being trampled by the following horses pulling the carriage and also by the wheels of the carriage. The king knew soldiers were being killed and trampled by the horses of his carriage, yet each day he went driving and each day soldiers fell from their horses and were killed by the speeding carriage.

37) The king never thought of good works, he only followed his own desires. The only thing he observed was his father's order to honour his elder brother. This he did not neglect.

38) At the same time Dipanegara was doing penance, unceasingly performing the Odjrat meditation. He was trying to protect the good name of the king and prayed that he would return to being a good king. Every day Dipanegara performed the luha prayer, next he read the Kur'an. All these things he did every day, at Sélaradja. He performed the Odjrat rites on a stone, and there he also read the Kur'an. When finished with the Kur'an he would then take up the 'Fatah-ul-Muluk'.[1] This work contained stories of good

[1] i.e. 'The Victory of Kings' an Arabic work presumably relating the lives of good and bad kings of the Muslim world.

kings of the past. Reading this work Dipanegara was reminded of the evil deeds of his younger brother. He therefore sent a letter to his younger brother calling on him to visit him to receive instruction.

46) The king left immediately for Sélaradja with only forty servants, and wearing ragged clothes.

47) On his arrival, the king was greeted by Dipanegara and they both sat down on the stone. Dipanegara then told two stories from the '<u>Fatah-ul-Muluk</u>' in order to instruct the king, his younger brother, in the proper actions of rulers:

48) 'There once was a mighty king whose kingdom was very great and who lived in a large palace. He was only interested in pleasure and he ignored his Lord, the Prophet of God. He dressed in beautiful clothes, he ate and drank well, he danced with palace girls and he had the <u>gamelan</u> orchestra to please his heart. Though he neglected religion, he conquered many countries. 51) One day the king saw a magnificent horse. He ordered his attendants to hold it while he mounted. Then he rode it around the palace. Suddenly it reared up and tossed the king from its back. The king fell on a stone and was killed.

52) In <u>Adjam</u> (Syria) there was a king who enjoyed himself every day, pursuing his desires. He called together all his regents and nobles for a great party and as they drank and ate, there came a great wind. It was dark within the city, and the palace trembled and shook. Finally the

palace was destroyed and it was carried away by a whirlwind. The king and all his nobles were killed.'

54) Finishing his stories, Dipanegara implored his younger brother to remember the lesson of the two stories. As for the king, he felt that he had been chided by his brother. He asked leave to return home and when he had come to the palace he felt despondent.

55) The king however did not change, and his desires did not decrease.

At Tegalredja Dipanegara ordered all his servants to pray and whoever did not perform their religious duties was to be sent away, whether he be young or old.

CANTO III

1) Prince Dipanegara unceasingly performed the Odjrat penance in the cave at Silarong. The cave had been improved and decorated so that it was a suitable place for meditation. The prince also performed ascetic acts at Pemantjingan,[1] Parang Wédang[2] and Parang Kusuma.[3]

1, 2, 3 These are all districts and villages in the southern regions of Jogjakarta. Parang Wédang is presumably a hot spring and Parang Kusuma could be the name given to a place where there was a rock shaped like a flower. As verse 2 states, the prince went often to the southern districts bordering the Southern Ocean. This area has been and remains important for the royal house of Mataram and Jogja. According to tradition the protectress of the Mataram dynasty, Njai Rara Kidul, resides in the Southern Ocean. The Babad Tanah Djawi (W.L. Olthof, Jav. version, p.80) records how Sénapati, founder of the dynasty, did penance on the shores of the Southern Ocean and obtained the protection of Njai Rara Kidul for his descendants. Dipanegara, as a descendant of Sénapati and an aspirant to regal power, was therefore following a well established tradition by making pilgrimages to this region.

2) He also visited the Suléman cave,[1] taking with him two servants. He made pilgrimages to the Southern Ocean, and the gunung Kidul, the Sura Lanang cave and the Sarungga Mountain.[2]

3) On his pilgrimages the prince wore only a dark skirt, the red jacket of kings and the back of the skirt was raised. He fasted, eating only once every one or two months. 4) Dipanegara performed these severe penances because he believed that if one did good works during one's life then one would achieve eternal pleasure in heaven. If one failed to carry out all the prescriptions of the prophet, then one would remain eternally in hell.

9) The prince once travelled westwards, and crossing the Praga river he made for the Upas cave. He was accompanied by Djajamustapa. Reaching the cave the two entered, crawling on their hands and knees for the entrance was very narrow. They soon reached an open part of the cave and from the roof there dripped ice-cold water. Dipanegara then gave thanks for all God's mercies and in particular for the Creation: 'He was moved in his heart receiving from God all that moved and all that was still - these were certainly the works of God.' (13 f-i).

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1 The Suleman cave may have been a cave near <u>Sleman</u>, north of Jogjakarta. Alternatively the translation 'cave of Solomon' may have been the meaning intended.

2 The districts mentioned in this verse would also seem to be situated to the south of Jogja (see Notes 1,2 and 3 on p.270). The <u>gunung Kidul</u>, 'Southern Mountains', is the mountain range south of Jogja which runs along the Indian Ocean coast. Today <u>gunung Kidul</u> is the name of a kabupatèn in the region, with its capital at Wonosari.

14) His one servant (Djajamustapa) was ordered to read and learn by heart the Ja Sin surah.[1] Seven days and seven nights he remained in the cave praying and asking God for forgiveness.

15) Suddenly there was a rockfall in the cave. There was a ghost whose roaring thundered in the cave. Stones fell like rain. Because of the beating of his heart, Dipanegara forgot God.

17) Djajamustapa and Dipanegara went out of the cave. Dipanegara was upset because he felt that the rockfall had been a test of Satan and by forgetting God he had been found wanting in faith.

21) Djajamustapa reassured him by pointing out that it was not in fact a test of Satan, that the cave was not an ordinary cave, and that the ghost in it was not an ordinary ghost. He asserted that it had been nothing other than a sign from God that his penance had been accepted and that his former sins were forgiven.

23-4) Dipanegara was still disturbed by the incident and still felt shame for having forgotten God.

25) Djajamustapa therefore related a story to prove his point:

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1 One of the surahs of the Kur'an (see Kur'an, p.170). This surah is held to be particularly sacred as it mentions the creation: 'When He creates a thing He need only say: "Be" and it is.' The Upas cave, perhaps because of its grandeur and mystery (the chill water) obviously moved Dipanegara to wonder at the Creation and the Ya Sin surah accords with his musings in verse 13.

'The king of Sabur was most religious and he did not deviate from the sjariah.[1] He listened to all the holy men. He practised nasoka (devotions).[2]

There came a great disturbance: the world was shaken, the rocks of the mountains fell down, the wind and the rain were swirled around.

This was the sign that the king's sins had been forgiven.'[3] Dipanegara was relieved and both returned to Tegalredja.

29) Sultan Djarot one day went riding in his carriage; when tired of that, he went inside the palace and relaxed with the young maidens. The gamelan orchestra soothed his heart.

35) The king asked for food and food was brought from outside the palace, from prince Mangkubumi.[4]

36) As he was eating a fish, he became sick. The fish was still in his mouth when he fell down and died.[5]

38) When the Resident[6] came to see the body he desired to have the dead king's thigh cut open. Dipanegara

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[1]Muslim law.

[2]Like Ojrat, a form of mystic devotion and meditation. It is derived from the Arabic nuska 'devotion'. See J.G. Hara S.J. 'Arabic-English Dictionary', Catholic Press, Beirut, p.767.

[3]It is interesting to note that a natural disaster could confirm a King's virtue. Normally tradition held that such occurrences were a sign of impending doom because of the evil of the reigning king.

[4]Uncle of the king.

[5]16 December 1822, A.D.

[6]The 'Resident' was acting Resident Baron de Salis who replaced van Nahuys only little more than a month before Djarot's death. He is referred to by Tjakranegara as the 'Residèn bongos' - the 'fat' Resident.

objected.[1] However the Resident insisted saying that the poison in his body would be able to flow out and the king would live again. The Queen Mother agreed and the king's thigh was cut, but no blood came out.

43) The king's body was washed and placed in the coffin. All the religious teachers and scholars gathered to pray. 44) They chanted the Usali prayer. The coffin was decorated, and under an escort of guards it was taken to the royal graveyard.

47-8) News of the king's death was taken to Batavia.[2] The Rateni[3] met together to discuss it. 50) They decided that the son of the dead king should succeed to the throne and that Dipanegara should act as his wakil (guardian).

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1 According to Islamic belief, the dead king would carry the wound of the cut forever in the afterlife. With the resurrection of the body in heaven, the body should be whole. As Dipanegara himself says to the Resident:

If he came to life,
I would be very happy,
if he is cut, but does not live again
then he is dead and he also bears wounds. (41 c-f)

2 In the following verses Tjakranegara describes drawn out plotting and delays in the coronation of Menol, which like this consultation with the Raad van Indie in Batavia just could not have happened or at least have been long and drawn out. The fact is that Menol was installed on 19 December 1822, three days after his father's death on the 16th. This completely discounts a road trip to Semarang and a boat trip from there to Batavia - and back! Delays there may have been, and there was most probably plotting amongst the Queen Mother - Danuredja clique, but it must be seen as telescoped into three days and not as occurring over a period of time as Tjakranegara seems to suggest.

3 A Javanese corruption of Raad van Indie, the Council of the Indies. This body advised the Governor-General on matters of policy.

55-7) The advice of the Rateni was transmitted to Jogjakarta. Dipanegara agreed that his nephew should be king:

> As for my son[1]
> he should be king. (56 a-b)

However he refused to act as guardian claiming that he wanted to become a santri and a holy man. He asked that prince Mangkubumi[2] be the only guardian. The Resident could not agree to this, because he was afraid to change the Governor-General's orders. Dipanegara then asked that the Resident request permission from Batavia and that while a reply was awaited, the coronation of the king be postponed. The assembled nobles then departed.

59-64) The Queen Mother, the wife of Sultan Radja and grandmother of the young king, became concerned. She feared that Prince Dipanegara intended to make himself king, instead of her grandson:

> If my grandson
> does not succeed in becoming king
> the vacant kingship
> will be filled by prince Dipanegara
> and he is the son of a lesser wife.[3]
> (60 d-h)

The Resident was summoned into the palace and asked to explain why her grandson had not been made king. She stated that if Dipanegara's wishes were followed there would be no peace.

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1 In fact, his nephew.

2 Uncle of Dipanegara.

3 The word used for describing Dipanegara's mother, one of the Queen Mother's fellow 'wives', is <u>selir</u>, which can range in meaning from lesser wife to mistress.

65) Still no letter came from Batavia. The Resident began to go to the palace quite often. He visited there at nights. He loved the Queen Mother very much and he followed all her wishes.

66) The Queen Mother plotted with Danuredja and Wiranegara. She urged the Resident:

> Let us not await
> the letter from Batavia. (68 b-c)

Danuredja supported her:

> It would be best if
> the wishes of the Queen Mother were followed.
> (68 e-f)

69) Danuredja did this because he thought that it would bring about a dispute between Dipanegara and the Dutch. Danuredja had a personal dislike for Dipanegara. Other princes respected Danuredja and they came to his house. Only Dipanegara did not come to visit him. Danuredja also disliked Dipanegara because he had become a minister through the good offices of Dipanegara.[1]

70-1) The people of Jogjakarta awaited the arrival of the letter from Batavia.

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[1] Danuredja had been elevated to that position in June 1812 at the same time as Sultan Šepuh was replaced by his son Sultan Radja. This was effected by Raffles and his English troops but Crawford, the English Resident, does record that Dipanegara negotiated with him to have his father put on the throne. We have seen in Cantos I and II that the Crown Princeship had been 'promised' to Dipanegara, presumably because of his assistance to his father and the English in 1812. It may well be that, as Tjakranegara states here, Dipanegara also manoeuvred with the English to have Danuredja appointed. (This claim is repeated in Canto IV, verse 75).

CANTO IV

1-3) The prince returning from the capital had left his Tegalredja residence the same afternoon and travelled to the Silarong cave to meditate and pray. He took two attendants with him.

4) He had been there three days[1] when in the morning he heard the sound of cannon, perhaps announcing the arrival of the letter. He returned home immediately.

6) There his servant, Kertadjaja, informed him that he had heard at the house of Sindudjaja that the young prince had been installed as king. 7) Dipanegara had been ignored, and he knew that this was the work of Danuredja, Wiranegara and the Queen Mother. 8) Upset and ashamed, Dipanegara locked himself in his residence at Sélaradja for three days and nights. He asked himself why he was not called to the coronation:

> I have no intention of seizing the throne
> and yet I am suspected of bad things.
>
> (9 e-f)

He realized that he was powerless to redress this affront:

> If I do not acquiesce to this
> then certainly the state will be destroyed.
>
> (11 a-b)

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1 Above the question was raised of the author's credibility with respect to the time which he seems to imply elapsed between the death of Djarot and the accession of Menol. It was in fact only three days, but Tjakranegara spoke of consultations with Batavia, and delays and plots. Here however he states correctly that there was only a gap of three days from the time Dipanegara left Jogja and the installation of Menol.

12) Dipanegara called his advisers and the <u>pangulu</u>[1] of Jogja, <u>Amad Bahwi</u>, to discuss this matter. Dipanegara was seated on the <u>Séla Gilang</u>[2] and he ordered Sastrawinangun, a servant, to read the Ardjunawidjaja, starting from the story of misery and penance.[3]

14-9) Dipanegara then explained to the pangulu how he had been set aside due to the machinations of Danuredja, Wiranegara and the Queen Mother, and had not been called to the coronation of his nephew. He continued:

> This has been done so as to anger me,
> and yet if I acted on my anger,
> then the country of Jogja would certainly be
> disturbed.
>
> (19 d-f)

20) The pangulu counselled moderation. He called this incident a test of God. If the prince intended to react violently, then his mind would become impure and union with God and the mystical knowledge of the Godhead would become impossible. To seize the throne now while the heart was full of revenge and impure thoughts would only result in failure. The prince accepted this.

25) A letter arrived from the Residency and Dipanegara replied to it.[4]

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1 The head of the Islamic religion.

2 The stone on which he meditated.

3 An appropriate piece of Javanese literature, under the circumstances.

4 This letter presumably informed him of the installation of Menol as Sultan.

26) After some time[1] the Resiḍèn bongos (de Salis) was replaced, because the rumours of his actions had spread. He had not been good in the position, and he only sought his own pleasure. He was replaced by Semitsar (Smissaert). The kingdom then began to prosper and Dipanegara and Smissaert made a friendly accord.

32) Dipanegara spent his time involved in religious practices. At night he would read three chapters of the Kur'an. In the morning he gathered about him all his retainers and they all read in turn. After reading another three chapters they would stop to eat. They would also read out various kinds of books on theology, mysticism, union with the Godhead etc. They read the Tuhfah,[2] books on worship and the work 'Hakik-ul-Modin'[3] After a month they would change and start to sing the Suluks.[4] They would change again and read the 'Serat

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[1] Smissaert replaced Baron de Salis on 10 February 1823, two months after the accession of Menol.

[2] The Tuhfah is a Sjafi'i law book. See I. de Vries, 'Kitab Toehpah', Verhandelingen KGB vol.68, 4th part, Batavia 1929; and T. Roordra, 'Kitab Toehpah, een Javaansch Handboek voor het Mohammedaansche Regt', 2nd edition, Leiden 1874. Roordra's work provides the text in Javanese characters; de Vries has a Dutch translation and he compares the Javanese Tuhfah with its Arabic source the 'Tuhfat al Muhtadj li sjarkh al Minhadj' of Ibn Hajar (1504-67).

[3] Like the Fatah-ul-Muluk, both the Hakik-ul-Modin and Niskat-ul-Muluk are didactic and edifying works. See Pigeaud, 'Literature of Java', vol.II, pp.94-101.

[4] The suluks were Islamic mystical songs. See Pigeaud, 'Literature of Java', vol.II, pp.85-7.

Anbija' (The Lives of the Prophets[1]).

26) When finished the 'Serat Ambija', they then read the Niskat-ul-Muluk, which told of the good and bad kings of yore in the lands of Arabia and Syria.

37) After another month they changed again, and they recited the Ardunawidjaja,[2] the Serat Rama,[3] up until the time of Rama's arrival in Ayodhya, the Ardunawiwaha[4] and the Bomantaka.[5]

38) After yet another month they would change and read the commentaries on the Kur'an. Then they read the Kur'an again.

39) When tired of the readings the prince went to do penance on the southern coast. He went to Pemantjingan,

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[1] Anbiya (the text shows the corrupted form Ambija) is the Arabic plural of the work nabi, 'prophet'. Muhammad was the Seal of the Prophets, and before him there were many prophets, to whom God had revealed only part of his word. Nabi Isa (Jesus), nabi Ibrahim (Abraham) nabi Adam (Adam) and other Old Testament figures reappear in the Kur'an and Islamic religious literature. Stories of their lives and trials made good reading, it seems, for the pious. See Pigeaud, 'Literature of Java', vol.I, pp.129-33.

[2] An Old Javanese kakawin popular in later times too. Pigeaud, op.cit., p.188.

[3] A modernization by Yasadipura of the Old Javanese version of the Rāmāyana. See Pigeaud, 'Literature of Java', vol.II, p.240.

[4] An Old Javanese kakawin.

> The Ardjuna Wiwaha was studied assiduously by Javanese authors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as well as by modern European scholars. Javanese authors saw in the poem an allegory referring to a superior man's struggle in life, his victory over demoniacal powers and his final apotheosis.

Pigeaud, op.cit., vol.I, p.181.

[5] The Bomantaka is another Old Javanese kakawin. This is the original title (Boma-antaka: 'Boma's Death') of the work generally known as 'Bhoma Kawya'.

the Gunung Kidul area, Balimbing, Sampar, Wulusan and Giri Mountain.[1] He visited caves far from his residence, taking with him only three servants.

41) At Sélaradja Dipanegara continued his penance. Only on Thursdays did he go to his harem to be with his wives. One wife complained of his infrequent visits:

> What should be the result,
> day and night I think of you, but my heart is frozen,
> because we seldom receive "gifts" from you, my lord.
>
> (42 d-f)

She continued:

> If he comes to my bed,
> then during the night we do not move at all.
>
> (45 a-b)

46-50) Dipanegara rarely attended audiences in the capital. Occasionally he met Danuredja, the Resident, the Queen Mother, and the young king, who at this time was four years old.[2] Dipanegara was very fond of the young king and acted as his father. Menol was often brought to Tegalredja to see his uncle.

50-4) One day Danuredja and Wiranegara were talking with Resident Smissaert. Danuredja was plotting to arouse Dipanegara's feelings and so he proposed that a new road be

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1 Is this Ima<u>giri</u>, where the burial place of the Mataram kings was situated? In his wanderings Dipanegara did visit the burial places of his ancestors to divine their intentions or seek their approval for his ambitions.

2 This mention of Menol's age enables us to date surrounding events circa early 1824 (Menol was born 25 January 1820). Thus just over a year had passed since Dipanegara had been angered by his non attendance at his nephew's coronation.

built, connecting the mountaineous areas of the south with the Great North Road,[1] but bypassing the city of Jogja. The road would pass through Silarong and Tompéjan (the lands of Dipanegara).

55) The Resident agreed to this proposal, provided Dipanegara also agreed.

58-9) Danuredja and Wiranegara returned home to build this road, which would run through the pleasure garden of Dipanegara at Tompéjan.

64) The messenger of the patih Danuredja soon arrived in Tompéjan and his name was Bratakusuma. His work-gang placed stakes on Dipanegara's ground. Dipanegara was at that moment resting in his pleasure garden and asked his gardener who was putting in the stakes. He replied that it was Bratakusuma, envoy of the patih.

64-7) Dipanegara was extremely angry and he ordered his gardener to go andpull out the stakes and if they resisted he was to hit Bratakusuma on the head. This he did, and Bratakusuma and his supporters ran to the house of the patih to inform him.

67-8) Danuredja went immediately to the Lodji (Residency) to inform the Resident of Dipanegara's treasonable defiance. Smissaert rebuked him, saying that he had given permission for the road only if Dipanegara agreed to it. Bratakusuma had put down stakes without first

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[1] This road led to Semarang.

asking permission and he deserved to be hit on the head. Danuredja became even more hateful as a result of this rebuttal.

70) Later Dipanegara came to the palace because the Queen Mother had become very sick. Here he met the patih, whom he called to his presence. Dipanegara and the patih Danuredja spoke for a long time, and Dipanegara rebuked him for agreeing to the cession of the Redjawinangun sawahs to the Dutch.[1] Dipanegara stated that the lands were not his to give and he should not seek to perform favours for the Dutch, using that which was not his.

72) Dipanegara could be so frank with the patih because he had caused him to be made Danuredja in the first place. Danuredja had forgotten his beginnings.[2]

73) Danuredja answered the charges frivolously, and Dipanegara hit him on the cheek with his slipper.

74) Danuredja was incensed by this and went home humiliated. He asked himself:

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1 These rice fields may well be the Djabarangkah and Karangkobar lands which the Dutch acquired from Jogja and Solo on 1 January 1825. Dutch writers have seen their cession to the Dutch as one of the causes of the war, but it is obvious here that the question of the loss of these sawahs is secondary to the bitter personality conflict. For a discussion of the cession of the Karangkobar and Djabarangkah lands see P.H. van der Kemp, 'De Economische Orrzaken', BKI volgreeks IIIe deel 1897 (vol.47), pp.1-48; in particular - section III, 'De Ontneming der Landen Karangkobar en Djabarangkah'.

2 His appointment as Patih (Minister) was due to Dipanegara.

> Who dares to depose me?
> if I am on good terms with the Dutch
> who dares to stand up to me?
>
> (74 e-g)

75-7) As a result of his humiliation, Danuredja drew closer to the Dutch.

79-80) The pangulu[1] Rahmanudin was replaced, and his post was taken by Kamalodinningrat who was appointed by Danuredja, the Queen Mother and the Resident. Dipanegara was not consulted.

CANTO V

1) Dipanegara felt that the appointment of a new pangulu was the work of Danuredja and the Queen Mother, in collusion with the Dutch. He argued that only the king could appoint a new pangulu, not Danuredja. But was the young king himself capable of appointing a pangulu? Dipanegara remembered one of the articles in the Tuhfah:[2]

> If there is a king,
> who has not yet attained his majority, but reigns as king,
> his exercise of power is not legal.
>
> (9 a-c)

10) Further, if a young king could not legally exercise power, then he could not implement laws, nor could he appoint a pangulu.

11) Dipanegara called together the Muslim legal scholars and asked whether this rule applied to the reign

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[1]The Head of the Islamic religion.

[2]A Sjafi'i book on Fikh (Islamic law). In Canto IV Dipanegara is described as calling on his retainers to read to him from this work. See Summary, Canto IV, verse 32.

of his nephew. They agreed that it did.

12-7) Dipanegara wrote to the Queen Mother, saying that the appointment of the pangulu was not legal and explained his reasons for saying so. The Queen Mother replied that he should not try to cause trouble over what was already settled. Dipanegara acquiesced in this.

18) Soon the Pinggir people ceased to marry.[1] Those who had children could not marry them for no one could appoint a wali. The pangulu could not marry the Pinggir people, only the king could marry them, but he had not yet attained his majority. As there was consequently much confusion in the kingdom, the pangulu consulted the legal scholars.

21) The scholars replied that only Dipanegara had the power to appoint a judge as wali to marry the Pinggir people.

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1 The Pinggir people were originally people from Balambangan and Pati who, being captured in war, were brought to Jogja and made slaves of the king. Their name (pinggir means edge, rim) may be derived from their residing in the outer sections of the city. As slaves of the king, they could only marry with his permission and through his good offices. Islamic law holds that no one can marry without the intervention of a wali i.e. a go-between, usually appointed by the girl's father. In the case of the Pinggirs, the wali had to be appointed by the king, who functioned as their 'father'. Thus the Pinggir people could not be married, because by law Menol was not able to exercise the royal powers. Even the pangulu could not take it upon himself to marry the wards of the king. This embarrassing position was only relieved by recognizing that Dipanegara exercised royal power (until, we presume, his nephew had reached adulthood). This situation also called into the question the legality of the pengulu's appointment. In this matter too Dipanegara exercised the royal power that was implicitly recognized in respect of the marrying of the Pinggir people.

22-30) The opinion of the scholars was conveyed to the Queen Mother and Danuredja. The Queen Mother ordered Danuredja to inform Kamalodinningrat, the new pangulu, that he should go to Dipanegara and seek approval of his appointment as pangulu. He should also ask that Dipanegara give him the power to appoint a wali to marry the Pinggir people. Kamalodin agreed and departed for Tegalredja with his retinue.

34) The pangulu arrived at Tegalredja and came into the presence of Dipanegara who was seated on the Séla Gilang.

36) The pangulu then asked Dipanegara most politely for his approval that he become pangulu of 'Mataram', and that he also be allowed to marry the Pinggir people, using a judge as wali. He added:

> It is only you my Lord Prince,
> who has the sole right to power in Mataram,
> it is so written in the Scriptures.
>
> (39 a-c)

39-40) The prince smiled, remembering the letter of the Queen Mother. He was not mistaken and the Queen Mother had been proved wrong. She should not have refused to heed his letter.

41) In spite of the offence given him by the Queen Mother's letter he determined to approve the pangulu's request. To do otherwise would prejudice the safety of the kingdom.

42) The prince therefore gave permission for Kamalodin to become pangulu of '<u>Mataram Jogjakarta Adiningrat</u>'.

45) Kamalodin returned to the capital and informed Danuredja that his appointment was now legal, 'according to the Scriptures'. Danuredja hearing this only smiled and said nothing.

46-8) Dipanegara continued to pray and meditate. He distributed money to holymen and the poor.

49-52) Dipanegara became disturbed in his heart, seeing how Danuredja, the Queen Mother and Wiranegara plotted and cooperated with the Dutch. Even the young king was keen to have the affection of Resident Smissaert. Things became bad in the kingdom. All the people deviated from the rules of Islam. No one thought of religion any longer. This was all due to Danuredja and Wiranegara. Dipanegara felt regret in his heart.

CANTO VI

1) The relationship between Dipanegara on the one hand and Danuredja, the Queen Mother and the Dutch on the other continued to deteriorate. Dipanegara was suspected of attempting to set up his own power base in Silarong. Danuredja, still mindful of the occasion when Dipanegara had struck him on the cheek with a slipper, aroused suspicion of Dipanegara by spreading false rumours of mobilization at Silarong. The Queen Mother was easily persuaded.

7) He told her that he had a spy in Dipanegara's service who had informed him that the prince intended to

leave the capital and establish himself as a kraman[1] at Silarong. The Queen Mother was horrified and ordered Danuredja to inform the Resident Smissaert of Dipanegara's plans. 25) The Resident heard him in silence.

26) Dipanegara also was disturbed. 27) He was beginning to realise that his enemies were preparing to remove him with the assistance of the Dutch. He feared that the Dutch might seize the kingdom of Jogjakarta. 28) Concerned for the future of Java, Dipanegara decided to seek advice in the form of signs from various traditional sources.

He ordered his servant, Djajamustapa, to go to the burial place of Sultan Agung at Imagiri, there to meditate and do penance in the hope of receiving some oracle or hint as to the future. Djajamustapa went to Imagiri and spent a night in prayer, asking that God send a sign. 32) The following morning Djajamustapa and the attendant Ki Balad entered the precincts of the sarcophagus and were surprised to see a red spot in the centre of the curtain which surrounded the tomb. 38-9) Ki Balad explained that the appearance of this spot with the colour of blood was a bad sign, as it meant that much blood would soon be spilt in Java.

40) Djajamustapa returned to Dipanegara and informed him of the sign he had seen. Dipanegara admitted that a

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1 Madeg kraman is the traditional Javanese term for 'initiate a rebellion'. Kraman is the word for rebel.

great war was to come to Java and much blood would be spilt, but he recognized that this was the will of God and he as a creature of God could only carry out the wishes of the Almighty. He knew that if God had decided that he should be the cause of that war, then no number of holy men could alter this fact.

44) Dipanegara now sent Djajamustapa on a much more extensive mission. He was to go to the island of Brambang (present-day Nusakambangan, opposite the port of Tjilatjap) and the Mesjid-Watu (Stone Mosque). He was to try to obtain the Djajakusuma flower (Victory Flower). If he could not find it then he was to return northwards from the southern shores and undertake a pilgrimage to a number of centres, all the time searching for signs. Some of the places he was asked to visit included Gumelem, Segara Windu, Tjahjana, Mt Lawet and Pekiringan. Djajamustapa was given the assistance of Djanodin and Kjai Mopid. 50) The next day the party left Sélaradja and headed southwards to Telatjap (Tjilatjap), stopping here and there. While crossing the Seraju river, they saw a very large crocodile and were very frightened. Arriving on the other side of the river, they continued their journey along the shores of the Southern Ocean. 61) There were seven deer from the island of Brambang gambolling on the waves. 62) They soon arrived in Tjilatjap. 66) With the priest of the village, Kjai Resajuda, they discussed the cost of travelling to where

the Djajakusuma flower grows.[1] Kjai Resajuda said that to go by boat to the island would cost 100 ringgits.[2] This the party could not afford and in this way Dipanegara was robbed of his chance to acquire the Djajakusuma flower. However the cost of travelling to the Mesdjid Séla was only two rials and so the party decided to carry out Dipanegara's secondary orders and undertake a pilgrimage to various holy places. 71) The next morning they set out by boat for the Mesdjid Séla.

CANTO VII

1) Kjai Djajamustapa and his companions arrived at the Mesdjid Séla. Here they prayed the whole night, beseeching God to bring blessings on the kingdom of Mataram and asking that their lord, Dipanegara, might prosper. 10) While asleep Ki Djanodin received a sign. He saw Dipanegara riding the buffalo called <u>sapi Gumarang</u>. The buffalo was as tall as a mountain, and its feet were entwined in the roots of a 'Balaran' tree. The buffalo broke free and bore the prince away on its back.

14) Two days later the party returned to Tjilatjap. They then made for Pasir, crossing the Bengawan river on the

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[1] It is called either Nini-nini Island, Madjeti Island or Brambang Island. The Mesdjid Séla must be situated on some rocky outcrop near Tjilatjap and not necessarily on the island of Nusakambangan where the flower grows, judging by the different charges.

[2] Spanish dollars.

way. After two days travel they arrived in Pasir and spent seven days and seven nights at a burial place, praying and meditating. Thereafter they journeyed towards the Segara Windu, stopping at several places on the way. 22) Arriving at the Segara Windu, a great storm descended on the party during the night. 25) The following morning they continued their pilgrimage, stopping at Gumelem and Pekiringan.
26) They next spent a night at the burial place of the wali Prakosa. 27) The party saw a sign here. The curtain surrounding the sarcophagus was torn away and blown off by the wind, while many trees were uprooted. This was interpreted as prophesying the destruction of Jogjakarta and reinforced the concern felt by Djajamustapa and Ki Mopid after having seen Dipanegara mounted on the sapi Gumarang.
31) The next day they proceeded to Mt Lawet, but spent the night on the road. Next day they climbed the mountain and prayed at the burial place of a holy man buried there. Here another sign was revealed to them. Again the curtain surrounding the grave disappeared and a ravine opened and a part of the mountain fell into the ravine. This sign from God was as ominous as those previously revealed.

CANTO VIII

1) The group descended from the mountain and discussed the signs that had been received. It was agreed that if it was God's will that the world be destroyed, then it must be so.

3) They next journeyed to Mt Merbabu and Ngargadalem. They went very close to the edge of the volcano and Djajamustapa was overcome by the fumes. His friends then had to carry him down. Thick clouds and a storm surrounded them as they descended. The storm abated at evening and they were able to continue their journey.

8) They next climbed Mt Merapi and spent two nights by the crater of the volcano.

9) At this stage they had been away for 50 days and they began their journey home to Tegalredja. When close to home they were overtaken by nightfall and they passed the night in the mosque at Kuwaron. In a dream Ki Geḍé in Séla came to Ki Mopid and advised him:

> Dipanegara in the future
> will certainly have decision over life and death
> he will spread the religion of the sjariah
> and he will be assisted by God al-Sabur
> and to him will be given the grace of God
> but there will be difficulties later on
> knowing the future there are risks
> by avoiding four things
> recklessness, pride, conceit,[1]
> he will certainly succeed in his efforts.
> If not,
> if he falls prey to those four things,
> the blessings and the guidance of God will disappear
> and so also the light of God
> and there will be robbery
> if he is not aware of this, he will fail to become king.
> Beware lest the friends of the king are bad.

(10d-11j)

12) At noon the next day they reached Tegalredja and immediately reported to Dipanegara. They informed him that they had been unable to obtain the Djajakusuma flower and

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1 In fact, only three are mentioned.

they also told of the signs they had seen. Dipanegara accepted the message of the signs:

If such is the case
if those are the signs which have come
if Mataram
is to be devastated in the future because of me
then it is the will of God.

(15 g-k)

16) The travellers then dispersed and left Dipanegara alone to think over the meaning of the signs. He was disturbed and depressed that he should be the cause of the destruction of Mataram. How could he carry out his desire to stop Dutch interference and to spread the Islamic religion in Java as its head?

17) As he dwelt on these things and prayed to God, there came a voice which whispered:

It is already approved by God
that you should become king
as for recklessness, if you fall prey to it
you will not succeed.

(20 b-j)

21) Dipanegara immediately called Djajamustapa and asked whether the voice was the voice of the devil or of an angel. Djajamustapa answered that since his master had been praying when the voice was heard, it could only be the voice of an angel. Dipanegara then dismissed Djajamustapa and fell asleep on the stone called the Séla Gegilang.

23) At this time Dipanegara was being spied upon by the Dutch. Danuredja had already spoken to Resident Smissaert (of Dipanegara's treasonable tendencies). Smissaert had not believed him then, but Smissaert was to see with his own eyes and he was no longer to be in doubt.

26) Dipanegara was invited to a party at the Residency, but he was asked not to bring many retainers. Dipanegara was wary, thinking it a Dutch ruse to arrest him. So when he went to the Residency he took many retainers with him and he remained with them outside the Residency.

27) Dipanegara was again invited to a party, this time at the country home of the Resident at Bedaja. Dipanegara was again wary of the Dutch intentions, and brought 100 soldiers with him. Again Dipanegara remained outside. When invited inside, he refused.

30) As a result of these incidents Dipanegara began to give more credence to the rumours that the Resident, in league with Danuredja and also the prince Mangkualam (Paku Alam), intended to attack Tegalredja and arrest him. Dipanegara's thoughts turned to a Holy War:

> it is the predestination of God Almighty
> that I should begin a Holy War
> what kind of death
> does a man seek
> other than an honourable death.
>
> (31 d-h)

Dipanegara therefore ordered that all the people of Tegalredja should stand guard at night with their weapons. People from other villages came to Tegalredja at night to guard Dipanegara. 33) These people numbered about 300. More and more people came as word of Dipanegara's call for assistance spread through the state.

The people assembled at Tegalredja took on the appearance of an army. 34) The order went out to the village people to be on the alert, for 'Dutch soldiers had already been seen'.

35) The activities at Tegalredja also gave rise to wild rumours:

The rumours increased:
(they say) that the prince will
certainly rebel and attack the capital.
The rumours were exaggerated
and were known throughout the kingdom:
(they say) the prince
in the month of Sura will depart from the capital
and will declare himself king at Silarong.

(verse 35)

36) The prince was disturbed at the rumours that stated that he intended to make himself king. However he did nothing, accepting the situation as an expression of God's will.

CANTO IX

1) Dipanegara called together his elderly retainers and asked them for their advice as to what he should do about the rumours that were widespread concerning his intention to rebel and make himself king. They replied that Tegalredja was certain to be attacked and that preparations should be made to meet the attack. They pointed out that the Dutch through their spies were already aware of the presence of large numbers of people at Tegalredja.

6) Dipanegara, realising that the Dutch would oppose him regardless of anything he might do, decided to send a letter to all the village people who supported him. The letter called on the villagers to assemble in support of Dipanegara. Senior people were appointed commanders. With this army Dipanegara now intended to start a Holy War and establish Islam in Java.

9) In response to this call, many people flocked to Tegalredja. They came from the capital and the villages. They included soldiers from the royal army. Dipanegara's supporters awaited the seventh day of the month of Sura (August 1825):

> They all knew exactly the day
> that they should be ready
> in the month of Sura.
>
> (12 d-g)

15) The Resident Smissaert was also aware of the warlike preparations at Tegalredja. He was kept informed by the spies of Danuredja who mixed with the people at Tegalredja. Smissaert called a meeting of Dutch officials and loyal princes. Smissaert said that it would be better if the Dutch could nip the rebellion in the bud. If they were to wait, many more people would die. The Queen Mother sent word to Smissaert that an early attack should be made on Tegalredja while the number of supporters was still small.

19) Smissaert however procrastinated. He then sent a bupati, Kjai Sindunegara, to Dipanegara calling on him to come to the Residency.[1]

21) If Dipanegara refused to come, Sindunegara was to ask him why so many people had assembled at Tegalredja.

22) Sindunegara arrived at Tegalredja and invited Dipanegara to come to the Residency. Dipanegara in turn

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1 Western sources record that the procrastination Tjakranegara speaks of, was due to the fact that Smissaert had been holidaying at Bedaja for some time and he returned to Jogja only on 18 July. His return was made necessary by the outbreak of disturbances in the Bedaja area, perhaps resulting from Dipanegara's call to arms. It was on 18 July that Smissaert sent Sindunegara on his first mission to Tegalredja.

asked the advice of his supporters who told him not to go, for even though there were many relatives of Dipanegara in the capital it was doubtful whether they would sacrifice themselves to rescue Dipanegara from the Dutch. When told that Dipanegara did not intend going to the Residency, Sindunegara asked why so many people had assembled at Tegalredja. Dipanegara replied:

> The reason for many people coming here
> is that they love me
> all of them.
> Therefore they come to guard me
> I am threatened by robbers and thieves.
>
> (29e - 30b)

Sindunegara asked who would dare threaten the prince, and Dipanegara replied that it was better to be on one's guard.

31) Sindunegara then returned to Jogja and informed Resident Smissaert of the failure of his mission. Smissaert was most angered by Dipanegara's reply to his invitation:

> The Resident was extremely angry
> he stamped his foot, and threw his hat down on the table
> he said loudly:
> Well, Sindunegara
> he truly wants to rebel
> he does dare to oppose the Dutch.
>
> (32 a-f)

33) At this time Dipanegara became concerned that his forces were too unprepared and were unready for a possible early attack. He therefore sent another letter to his supporters calling on them to increase their preparedness.

35) The next day (19 July 1825) military preparations were well advanced in Jogja and the Residency. The Dutch dragoons were there with cannon, together with the forces of

prince Paku Alam and Danuredja. 36) Sindunegara was sent early in the morning on another mission to Dipanegara. He was to tell the prince that the Resident was prepared to meet him either in the Residency, the palace or even in the home of prince Mangkubumi, Dipanegara's uncle.

41) Dipanegara again refused to meet Smissaert anywhere and he relayed to Sindunegara what he demanded from the Resident:

> What I demand is none other than
> that Danuredja and Wiranegara be dismissed
> for the good of Mataram.
>
> (41 d-g)

43) Sindunegara then returned to Jogja, but soon after his departure prince Mangkubumi arrived. He had been sent by Smissaert to arrange a meeting and to act as a surety for Dipanegara.

45) Dipanegara resolutely refused to cooperate and he called on his uncle to join his cause:

> Uncle, choose between these two things
> to die for Islam, or to die with the unbelievers.
>
> (46, c-d)

48) Mangkubumi resolved to stay with Dipanegara and support him. Dipanegara then ordered his wife to move to Silarong in the company of Mangkubumi and to take with her supplies and the treasury. 49) That night they left for Silarong with columns of soldiers and groups of non-combatants.

57) The next morning (20 July 1825) Sindunegara was sent yet again to Tegalredja, but in Jogja preparations were already in hand for an attack that day. Danuredja and Wiranegara were confident of success and told the Resident that Dipanegara was 'already in their grasp'.

61) Sindunegara however was already at Tegalredja, informing Dipanegara that Wiranegara was in chains at that very moment and that the Resident merely awaited Dipanegara's advice as to what was to be done with Wiranegara. Did he want him to be cut into pieces?

63) Dipanegara wavered. He then told Sindunegara that he would go to meet the Resident.

64) But suddenly the sound of cannon was heard.
65) Sindunegara wisely departed, claiming that he would try to stop the advance of the army. All about was the sound of cannon and rifles. There was shouting as the people of Tegalredja joined battle with the approaching forces of the Dutch and the Javanese princes. The war had begun.

66) Danuredja and Wiranegara led the opposing forces. Coming from the south they pushed back the defenders of Tegalredja. The battle was fierce, and many were killed. Tegalredja was however overrun.

Dipanegara and Mangkubumi came down to the battlefield to participate personally in the battle while:

> The rifles and cannon fired continuously
> bullets spread in all directions whistling
> falling like soft rain.
>
> (75 e-g)

76) In the heat of the battle, Mangkubumi became afraid and he asked Dipanegara to retire from the field for the enemy was too strong.

77) Dipanegara's forces retired to the west, and they crossed the Bajem river. With his comrades, Djajamustapa fought a rearguard action. Though the Dutch eventually gave

up the chase, Djajamustapa was wounded in the ankle. By dint of great effort, he struggled on towards Silarong where his master was already rallying his supporters.

Thus began the Java War on 20 July 1825

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

1 Abbreviations

BKI : Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (van Nederlandsch-Indië) uitgegeven door het koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.

DJAWA : Tijdschrift van het Java-Instituut.

TBG : Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

VBG : Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

VKI : Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.

VNA : Verhandelingen der Koninklijk Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen.

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